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SOCIAL ASSISTANCE: RECENT BRITISH POLICY

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IN THIS article I should like to lay before readers of the *Social Service Review* some facts concerning our British system of unemployment relief and old age assistance which may be relevant to the situation which is developing in the United States. The main fact which I want to stress is that we are now in a fair way to "break up" the ancient *local* poor law of England and establish a two-tier *national* system of social security not only for all our able-bodied unemployed but also for all our needy aged over sixty-five (sixty in the case of women). The compulsory insurances provide what I call the ground floor, and the new centralized service of social assistance is building up the second floor. As far as the aged are concerned, Parliament has indeed just passed an act which will go far to achieve this result. Such an unusual activity as an Old Age Pension Act in wartime has been rather a pleasant relief to our legislators! And it is this act which has prompted this article.

But first let me set out what seems to me to be the American problem. Under the wide sweep of the Social Security Act the federal government is launching the largest experiment in social insurance that the world has ever seen. Last January the Social Security Board began paying pension benefits to old persons who satisfied the contributory conditions of the act and were retired. Previous to this the board had succeeded in getting all the states of the union to

operate unemployment-insurance systems under federal guidance and subsidy. These are immense advances, and many millions of citizens (whether in need or not) will benefit by the added security. But neither of these social services covers anything like the whole field. Some millions of unemployed and of aged persons are still unprovided for. For the former there is the W.P.A., but that also is partial and temporary. For the latter there is old age assistance, operated in various ways by the states on a means test. In effect large armies both of the unemployed and of the needy aged are left to the mercy of a variable local poor law or to voluntary charity. Many are too proud to apply for these forms of help; they go without.

Writers in the *Social Service Review* constantly demand that this system or lack of system shall be ended. The unemployed and the aged must be made a national responsibility—not some of them, but all of them! Federal or national social insurance must be supplemented by a reliable national social assistance service, financed by federal funds. This is what I call the plan of two-tier national social security, and we in Britain are getting near to achieving it.

For over three hundred years the responsibility for maintaining the able-bodied poor in Great Britain was a local one. With the creation of the Unemployment Assistance Board in 1934 it became national, in so far as the able-bodied poor were unemployed people who normally worked for wages. The unemployed were, to all intents and purposes, made a national charge under a national social service. The "break-up" of the local poor law is now carried an important stage further. With the passing of the government's new Old Age and Widows' Pensions Act another milestone has come within sight. The responsibility of local public assistance authorities for the maintenance of needy old persons over sixty-five (sixty in the case of women) will be almost wholly transferred to a newly created section of the Unemployment Assistance Board, henceforth to be known as the Assistance Board in view of its enlarged scope. Let me explain that in the case of the aged all will be already in receipt of the basic old age pension of 10 shillings a week for a man and 10 shillings for his wife, but many thousands (probably half a million) old people cannot make both ends meet on this exiguous

sum. It is these needy pensioners who will now be cared for by the national Assistance Board instead of by the local poor law. Their pensions will be supplemented.

Thus the pattern of a logical system of social assistance is beginning to emerge. We may now look forward to a two-tier system of social security services. The ground floor is already occupied by the national contributory social insurances, which, for many years, have provided standardized cash benefits to practically all wage-earners during unemployment, sickness, widowhood, orphanhood, and old age. Certain amplifications are needed at this level, but an acceptable system of cash benefits drawn as a right out of contributed funds, without any means test, has been created. On the second floor we may now look forward to an "omnibus" relief authority—the Assistance Board of the new act—filling in the gaps and supplementing the benefits disbursed on the ground floor, where these are insufficient to cover the needs of particular households. An unemployed man who has run out of benefit under unemployment insurance or whose standard rate of unemployment benefit does not cover the special requirements of his family, is now able to walk upstairs and apply for unemployment assistance. Similarly, the elderly pensioner for whom the standard rate of old age pension is inadequate will be able to walk upstairs and present his or her application for additional help in the form of a supplementary pension (payable through the post office). In both cases the facts will be verified and there will be a fairly lenient "means test," conducted by the district officers of the Assistance Board in order to assess the weekly help to be given.

The creation of a comprehensive, centrally administered system of social assistance, financed out of national funds, has obvious attractions. These include administrative uniformity and financial equity as between one part of the country and another and between different classes of taxpayers. It has, on the other hand, certain dangers and disadvantages. Well-administered social assistance provides flexibility and opportunities for good case work which are not normally characteristic of centralized bureaucracies. If the comprehensive social assistance which is coming into existence on the second floor is to be really a success, several things are needed: (1) a

considerable degree of decentralized administration, possibly by strengthening the local advisory committee system, (2) the employment of trained social case workers for conducting household inquiries and undertaking constructive social service in cases of special difficulty, and (3) the extension of the ground-floor—social insurance—benefits and services so that the numbers who need to ascend the stairs for further help are not so many in any area that they cannot be dealt with as human individuals and not merely on a routine basis. These are improvements which we have yet to work for in this country.

LONDON, ENGLAND

THE SOCIAL WORKER AND THE TREATMENT OF MARITAL DISCORD PROBLEMS¹

CHARLOTTE TOWLE

MARITAL discord seldom if ever descends as a bolt from the blue upon a family in response to uncontrollable external factors and circumstances. Instead it emerges from within the family relationships as a natural and sometimes inevitable outgrowth of needs which each individual has brought to the marital situation. Chance circumstance appropriately timed may serve as a precipitating or reinforcing factor, that is, may intensify or bring to the surface discords which might otherwise have remained relatively dormant or negligible. In helping people in the area of marital discord, therefore, the social worker's services, focused upon the relief of adverse circumstances, may ease the marital relationship in some instances. Once the discord has occurred, however, needs and conflicts of basic import have been activated and expressed so that the relationship may be no longer the same as formerly, nor may it be easily restored through dealing merely with circumstantial factors; for example:

Mrs. L., age twenty-nine, an overburdened mother and wife, has had four children in seven years and is again pregnant. Today, as she applies to a private family agency for relief, she complains about her nagging husband, who demands his meals on time, who criticizes her housekeeping, and who recently has been withholding money with accusations of her poor management. Lately, also, he has been seeking recreation outside the home, hobnobbing with fellow-workers and spending on himself. As she tells her story it is clear that she feels unjustly treated, for she maintains that she is managing as well as she can with all her burdens and an income which has been decreasing as the family has increased. "I have all the work and no fun. . . . You would think the children were all mine—not his—the way he blames me for the work and expense they make" were complaints she made. She also brought out that he has changed. "He didn't use to be that way." She described a happy first two years of marriage when he was regularly employed, when the income was adequate, when she could keep a good house and they had time and money for recreation to-

¹ Paper read at a meeting of the Council of Social Agencies of Chicago, November 27, 1939.

gether. He was good natured and a help whenever there were troubles. Now she has to bear things alone because he gets so irritable and upset that he only blames her when things go wrong. She is so depressed that she does not see how she can go through with this pregnancy. She has thought of deserting—only the thought of the children has kept her from leaving. She still thinks that she may leave him if some plan can be made about the children. "They'd be better off elsewhere—the way their father treats them and us fighting all the time." Mrs. L. revealed that she left a home in which she had been the eldest overburdened daughter in a large family for a home of her own which she hoped would be different. "And here I am with things much worse," she exclaimed angrily. She thought she loved her husband because he was quiet, settled: "I felt safe with him." She didn't know he had it in him to be so hard, so demanding, so unreasonable.

Mr. L. impressed worker as being a taciturn man, twelve years his wife's senior, who was quite discouraged. His work as a machinist had been irregular, and he was now working only three days a week following intermittent periods of unemployment. He never was one to have debts, and now they have spent the savings accumulated prior to and in the early days of their marriage. He had been anxious about debts which his wife was contracting and so took over handling the money himself. He admitted that things had not gone any better. The money won't "go around." He has given up trying to plan. Always he had been playful. "All his troubles started with his marriage. . . . There was first one thing and another." He had known fellows who got ahead better when married—saved more, had comfortable homes, but it had not worked that way with him. His wife does not use her head and only thinks he is stingy when he complains about expenses. He had no other complaints of his wife except to say that she took the children "too heavily" and wore herself out doing for them.

Services in this case consisted of immediate medical care for the wife, who was in poor health due to a kidney condition; provision of some help from house-keeping service, supplementation of earnings for a short period until man was returned to full-time employment as family was under budget at time of first contact; help in budgeting expenses; help in securing confinement care at minimum cost; day nursery care for the children during mother's confinement, which was continued with two of them after her confinement, the parents paying minimum cost when able to do so. Later both parents used worker's information as to where to procure contraceptive advice. This service came in response to mother's expressed anxiety about pregnancy as she complained of her husband's sexual demands. These services covered a period of eighteen months, and throughout this period one must consider also the service implied in the relationship which the case worker afforded the parents as she rendered this supportive help. Some of the psychological values might be described as follows: In interviews held in and around these case-work services, the mother

was given an opportunity to unburden her disturbed feelings and anxieties about finances, child care, her relationship with her husband, and her feelings of frustration that her life was not bringing her what she had hoped for—apparently something more than a bitter struggle for bread and more harmonious relationships than she was being able to attain in her overburdened existence. This opportunity seemed to ease her tension and anxiety. She always commented on *feeling better* after talking with worker. She seemed less irritable with the children and at times better able to meet her husband's needs. She was co-operative in help given in practical plans and made the most of medical care and financial assistance. She obviously was relieved through the worker's sharing of her burdens and became more active in dealing with many practical problems. The father was also given some opportunity to unburden, which he did not use to any extent. He was co-operative in practical planning—returned the management of the household money to his wife and was appreciative of the help given her in medical care and contraceptive advice. His morale improved noticeably even during the period before he was returned to full-time employment. His wife admitted that he was less irritable with the children and more contented in general. At the close of the eighteen months he thought things were all right, except for his wife's worries and complaints. In his opinion she has no grounds for complaint, and he brought out that "things are going well" which he elaborated in comments to the effect that he is earning "good money," does not drink, works hard, the "kids" are well. Again he says, "She takes things too heavy" and evidences an attitude of what more could a woman want—now that there are no real troubles.

It is clear that the mother is still fundamentally unhappy. She complains that she knows that nothing she does satisfies her husband. She is lonely and blue. She does not enjoy going out with him any more. She condemns him for being stingy, hard. She can never forgive his failing her during her last pregnancy—he laid all the blame on her and would have had her risk her life in an abortion. She defends herself against him by working to the point of exhaustion to keep a good house and manage so that he will have no ground for criticism. She reiterates pridefully, but defensively, to the worker what a good wife she is and how she fails him in nothing. Whatever the meaning of the persistent discord may be, and certainly all the ramifications of the basic factors now actively disrupting this marriage may never be wholly understood, still it is clear that a presumably happy or tolerable marriage came to an end as each person found himself enmeshed in overwhelming pressures, which brought responsibilities beyond the strength of each

to bear. The resultant frustration and anxiety induced enacted hostilities which now are not readily laid aside. The circumstances have been modified; superficially the home has returned to normal, but the basic relationship has been damaged. Two people have been changed within themselves and in their feelings toward each other; particularly has the woman changed in her feeling for the man, at least her reaction seems more pronounced, perhaps because she shares her feeling more fully with the worker.

Today the function of any agency helping this family is quite different from what it was yesterday. The acute social needs have been met, the environmental pressures eased to the utmost. The client's need in the helping relationship has also changed—actually it seems to have deepened, at least on the woman's part. No longer does she need our help with practical social problems as relief, medical care, budgeting, and advice as to the care of the children. No longer does she need help merely in dealing with her disturbed feelings about an irritable husband and with all her anxieties over a complicated interplay of social problems. In determining her present need we are led to consider many perplexing questions:

1. Why does she find it so difficult to lay aside enacted hostilities? Once expressed, have they been gratifying in terms of some basic need? Is there gratification now in expressing long-repressed resentment of her husband and of all the responsibilities implied in the marriage relationship, a resentment that formerly lay dormant?

2. Why is she obstructed in understanding her husband in terms of the strains and anxieties which he was experiencing? Why cannot she readily excuse his behavior toward her during that difficult time with genuine understanding, and an inclination to forgive, or even with a rationalization that they were both upset and took it out on each other? In short, why does she need to continue to hold his behavior against him when it could be so readily justified to the greater comfort of all concerned?

3. Or in her recent experience has she perhaps understood her husband for the first time, and in knowing him as he is with all his human limitations, found him not to be the man she thought she married? In knowing him now in terms of his limitations does she find a person who cannot meet the need which she brings to the relationship?

4. To what extent has the contraceptive advice complicated rather than simplified this marriage relationship? Has the use of contraceptives introduced conflicts and anxieties which now add a new strain to the relationship?

5. To what extent have the case-work relationship and the many services afforded therein contributed to her changed feeling and made her less able than formerly to rationalize her marriage and endure its limitations? In experiencing the understanding response and the supportive care of the case worker during a time of trouble has this relationship taken on deep emotional import? Has it heightened her demands in relationship, thrown into bold relief her husband's inadequacy, and made her less tolerant of his limitations in contrast to the case worker's capacity to understand, to give, and to sustain? Sometimes this seems to occur with individuals whose life-experiences have been essentially depriving and who bring to the case-work relationship such marked need that they succumb to its gratifying security. In short, to what extent may this woman need to remain unhappy now and absorbed in her difficulties in order to insure a continuation of the case worker's concern and help? This possibility must be taken into account if the same agency is to continue with this case in a new area of service, and it raises many questions as to the advisability of unlimited agency function, which will not be discussed here. Might it not simplify matters for this agency to terminate the contact with the cessation of need for specific help with obvious social problems, referring the woman elsewhere for help with her emotional difficulties per se.

Today, as this woman brings to the worker her discouraged feeling, her irritation, her depression, she brings her own inner conflict problem. If we help her now there would seem to be need for a direct approach to her own disturbed feelings in and of themselves. There is need for redefinition with the client of her purpose in coming here, if it is decided that the family agency is the appropriate agency and can serve her in terms of her present need. Although there might well be question as to whether this is now a diagnostic and therapeutic task for a social worker or a psychiatrist, we will consider what help a social worker might give, since in some agencies social workers are carrying cases which involve direct treatment of basic emotional difficulties. If a social worker were to go

on with this case today, I believe that his therapeutic purpose and method might be described somewhat as follows:

1. First, he would see the need for clarifying with the client her present relationship with the agency. There might be some evaluation of services rendered—their meaning to the woman, and some formulation of where we stand today. What does she now seek? What help does she want now that acute external needs have been met? As she brings out her present need for help, the worker would be alert to whether she wants to come in merely because it makes her feel better to talk or whether she actively seeks help in doing something about her marriage. Does she want to find a better relationship with her husband? Does she want to clarify this whole problem of whether she can live with him more comfortably and if so how, or whether she wants to leave him, a wish repeatedly expressed throughout the eighteen months' contact? It might develop the case would be closed or referred elsewhere at this point.

2. If treatment were continued, the worker would afford the client the opportunity to explore her marriage relationship, her feelings about it, in short, to unburden as fully and freely as is possible for her. In doing this the social worker would be banking on the therapeutic benefits of emotional release, believing that perhaps in this way the client will be eased of certain resentments and tensions; may derive certain insights; and may reach a point when she experiences changed feelings with or without a gain in insight, which in turn should motivate a working-through of the marital relationship in accordance with the nature of the new feelings. The social worker would rely on his own understanding response, on his own nonjudgmental, neutral attitude toward all that the client says and feels to be helpful to the client in the following ways: (a) As the client experiences the worker's understanding and acceptance of her complaints, blame, and criticism of the husband, she may gain courage to face herself and her own part in the problem. At this point, projection of all blame onto the husband would subside, and the woman would move into consideration of her own lacks, failures in the marriage, and her own negative attitudes which are obstructing the relationship. (b) As she experiences the worker's tolerance of her own limitations, the worker's capacity to understand, the worker's

lack of need to punish or to blame, she may gain some capacity for understanding, accepting, and facing her own limitations. (c) As she does this, then there may follow some gain in capacity to understand, accept, and endure the limitations of others—hopefully in this instance her husband. As her feelings change she may begin to relate herself to her husband differently—be less demanding of him, less complaining, and better able to meet his need. (d) As this occurs, one would count on the husband's capacity to respond positively to the changed attitudes of the woman and on the woman's inclination toward greater gratification in his positive response than in his former negative one, for the final intrenchment of therapeutic gains.

There has been depicted here the theoretical formula of what may happen as based on what has seemed to happen in some instances, through the talking-through of emotional difficulties in a relationship in which the case worker affords the client a neutral but understanding response. Case workers today are familiar with this therapeutic concept and seduced by it. It sounds so very simple when recounted step by step in this way. It is not simple to apply and carry through, however, for the formula must be subject to continual modification in endless variation, depending upon the needs of the individual as evidenced with each changing response. Effective help of this nature depends on several factors: (a) the professional orientation of the worker, (b) the capacity of the client to use this sort of relationship in a growth direction, (c) the nature and urgency of his need.

In considering these factors one is confronted first of all with the possibility that the experience of unburdening may not be wholly and immediately gratifying. For some individuals the urgency of their need with reference to the neutral but understanding attitude of the worker may stimulate such a precipitous production of confidences and such a free expression of negative feeling that strong guilt feelings with resultant anxiety may follow. We are all familiar with the individual who, after confiding freely, responds in some one of the following ways: withdraws and seems blocked in going further; enacts his retreat overtly in broken appointments or cessation of contact; in other instances resistance to compromising him-

self further may be expressed in anxious apologies for having told so much; in submissive compliance to the worker's will (collapse into dependent state) or in the opposite reaction of antagonistic and hostile attitudes toward the worker. The worker must be aware of the significance of such responses in order to help the client deal with his anxiety and guilt. This may be done in many ways, notably: (a) setting limits to check his precipitous response; (b) clarifying the relationship as he makes anxious apologies in comments such as "he has never told anyone not even his own mother so much before"; (c) reassurance as to the confidential nature of the relationship and his safety here; (d) interpreting the significance of his response as when he breaks appointments or is hostile toward the worker. It is only as the worker is able to deal also with the additional problems which this therapeutic process creates that the client is assured of help with the difficulties originally brought to the treatment situation. That the patient may get worse as a result of medication before he gets better is a well-known phenomenon in medical practice. It has its corollary in psychotherapy. Knowing when and how to utilize these various measures requires professional skill, derived from training and experience. It requires also on the part of the worker a great capacity for objective handling of his own emotional response to the impact of the client's demands, needs, and pressures.

As for the client's capacity to utilize this kind of relationship constructively we note wide variation. Note, for example, Mrs. X.

Mrs. X came to a clinic for advice as to what she might do about her husband, who had evidenced great irritability since the birth of their child and who had been drinking to excess for the first time in his life. At first she could bring through only criticism and condemnation of him. He was wholly to blame, and she felt unjustly treated. She wanted advice as to what psychiatry could do for him and how she could contrive to get him to a psychiatrist. Within two interviews her condemnation gave way in large measure and was replaced by assumption of some responsibility for his difficulty. She was able to face her husband's need in her and to accept his limitations as implied in recognition of the fact that he needed to rival his child and would have to have his dependency met if he were to function adequately as husband and father. In this case we could see clearly the woman's ready utilization of the emotional immunity granted her in the worker's response. As the worker refrained from seeming to defend the accused husband through immediately interpreting him

and his needs to his complaining wife, the latter apparently through experiencing release of resentment and through testing out the worker's response to human limitations gradually ceased projecting all blame onto her husband and edged into her part in the problem. As she gained security through the worker's acceptance of her own human limitations, she brought through freely her failure to understand her husband and wondered if it were possible that he had been jealous of his own child. Worker granted this possibility since husbands sometimes are jealous and explored this question with her. As she talked about his early deprivation and hard life, in contrast to her own more satisfying one, she became sympathetic with his need and warmly responsive to her own responsibility for meeting it. She left the second interview deciding to postpone the question of psychiatric care for him, saying she would like to try to deal with the situation herself. How might we explain her response?

The worker's skill was an undeniable factor here, but the client's capacity for relationship was also clear. Satisfying and constructive early parental relationships, a minimum of frustration in her own life-experiences obviously were basic in giving this woman the capacity to face her own failure and the capacity for giving to her husband in terms of his need. Having been given to constructively in her life-relationships, she now had inner resources for giving. In contrast to this case, we have Mrs. L., the case previously cited. Mrs. L. was given an opportunity to work through her marital difficulty with a relatively skilled worker, who offered her the same sort of treatment approach. It was soon clear that she could not use the opportunity. While she experienced certain emotional release, that is, always felt better after talking to the worker, she became no more active in relating herself to her husband differently, nor did she move in the direction of assuming responsibility for having any part in the problem. Her production within the interviews remained a stereotyped recital of complaints against the husband. Furthermore, repeated recounting of them seemed to be strengthening her conviction that she was wronged. She used the worker's neutrality in this direction, commenting to others that the worker agreed with her. Apparently since the worker did not take issue with her ideas, that is, actively disagree with her, her wishful assumption was that the worker was on her side. It was also clear before long that the relationship to the worker had become a gratifying end in itself, and because she was so satisfied in the worker as an interested and

responsive person, her need to improve her situation lessened, since if the marital relationship were to improve, she would have to forfeit the worker. An endlessly understanding worker who indefinitely grants the client the reality of his feeling can be a seductive person for some very deprived individuals and can offer keen competition to the ordinary husband with his realistic demands. How might we explain this woman's regressive response? Certainly lifelong deprivation and frustration in parental, sibling, and other relationships, together with frustrated achievement and economic deprivation seem to have combined to create an exaggerated dependency need. This woman had meager capacity to give in relationship, and today she finds herself married to a man with no capacity to give more than his share in the marital relationship or who even may be as needful as his wife. Because she can endure no denial, since denial spells deprivation, she has not been brought through this therapeutic approach to accept the limitations that her husband presents.

Actually, when we come to evaluate the efficacy of therapeutic relationship as many social workers conceive of it today—in the terms above described—we find that certain clients seem to be unable to use it in a growth direction. In fact, it is probably used in an uncomplicated and smooth way by the relatively more mature clients and those whose problem only partially involves the person so that his guilt is not so great but that he can be readily brought to face himself and his anxiety is not so extensive or so deep but that it can be eased through this approach. The evidence in other cases suggests that many individuals become confused, anxious, and frustrated through this approach, so they may enact their disturbed feelings in ways which vary from a demanding kind of dependency to withdrawal in one form or another from a situation which they find either too threatening or quite empty of value. It is precarious to generalize as to the reasons for this. One should seek the answer in each individual case. At the risk of oversimplification, however, the tentative impression is ventured that many individuals find this neutral relationship too unsupportive. Many individuals are quite dependent upon the approval and disapproval of others. They have gone through life with their "feelers" out for the "yes-no" attitudes of others to guide them in their thinking, acting,

and, to some extent, even in their feeling. When drawn into this relationship which withholds approval and disapproval and which presumably then grants them the freedom to "find themselves," that is, their own set of values through which they may become more self-determining, they are lost. The very strangeness of this unique relationship may create anxiety for any client, and the unresourceful, dependent person is prone to respond with intensified inadequacy rather than to be stimulated to focalized activity in and around his problem. We could give many examples in which the client has used the worker's response in destructive ways. Sometimes they interpret the worker's neutrality as indifference and are driven to clamor for a response which signifies to them that the worker cares; in this connection they may enact a demanding kind of dependency. If there is deep guilt around the original problem, they may seek authority in the relationship as a kind of self-punishment and may be driven to further and further lengths in the expression or enactment of unacceptable attitudes with a view to implicating the worker in a punitive role. Or they may use the lack of emotional demand in this relationship as an opportunity for evading issues and settle down to a comfortable enjoyment of the worker's time and attention.

These and many other complicated responses, the experienced social worker has seen repeatedly. He has learned some ways of dealing with these problematic responses so as to help some clients derive some benefits from this approach. Doubtless social workers need further supervision, from psychiatrists, in dealing with the complicated responses to this therapeutic method. The need for wide experience and specialized training is clear and confronts us with the reality that while many social workers may be able to embark upon this kind of treatment venture, they may lack the skill to bring the client safely into port. At the present moment many social workers can only leave him somewhere at sea. Even with a relative degree of skill, however, in the control of this type of therapeutic relationship, it is our conviction that many clients cannot use it. Our present concern is one of affording the client a relationship which he can use to some advantage. This implies laying aside any rigid ideal as to the kind of therapeutic role a social

worker should play. It implies a flexible meeting of the client's need at his particular level of personality organization, which in turn makes imperative a supportive relationship in many instances. Today we are concerned with the "how" of being supportive in a relatively constructive way. How may we inject authority, meet dependency, impose demands, and not be destructive to people? Can this be done in a sustaining way so that gradually the individual may become more self-determining or at least less self-destructive? How may we be more helpful to people in dealing with their emotional difficulties whether they lie in the area of the marital relationship or elsewhere? We have drawn heavily on psychiatry for help in this area, and we need to continue to work hand and glove with the members of this profession for the further formulation of knowledge and skills in understanding and in controlling therapeutic relationships. Exploration of this area with a view to clarifying certain differences between case-work relationship and the psychoanalytic transference situation, perhaps, is indicated.

In conclusion, to summarize these few points on the subject of dealing with problems of marital discord, it may be said:

1. Marital discord which might have been negligible or remained dormant frequently is activated and intensified by external social and economic pressures. The relief of some of these external pressures may solve the marital problem—but it will not always do so, for sometimes the relationship experiences drastic change once these pressures are experienced. Or frequently we find that basic difficulties have been projected upon adverse circumstances so that as the latter are relieved, the more fundamental problems emerge. In helping in marital problems, the relief of social pressures which are operating to create or intensify the discord, as well the clarification of disturbed feelings around these pressures, has been, and probably will continue to be, the social worker's primary function. To what extent he should go—or can go beyond this point with the direct treatment of underlying emotional difficulties is not clear at this stage of our professional history.

2. If social workers do assume responsibility for the direct treatment of the individual beyond the point of relieving adverse circumstances and dealing with disturbed feelings about those circum-

stances, then specialized training and supervision by a psychiatrist are definitely indicated.

3. Social workers need to be realistic about the benefits of therapeutic relationship per se. They need to face the limitations of many clients in the use of it. They need to face also how little they know and how little skill they actually have in consciously controlling and using this relationship to therapeutic ends.

4. When the marital relationship has been definitely damaged through hostilities enacted during a period of stress and strain, we need to face the fact that this relationship, like Humpty Dumpty, may not be "put together again." We need to recognize that the social worker may not be able to do more than "all the King's horses and all the King's men" in repairing these damages. Whether the situation can be helped will depend upon the individuals concerned. If one person in a marital situation has the capacity to give to the other in terms of his need, then it may be possible to help this person deal with the marital situation. When both individuals in a marital situation have meager capacity to endure frustration of their perhaps excessive needs, then work in the area of direct treatment of marital discord may be beyond the scope of the social worker. Our experience shows that psychiatrists have been more realistic about this than have social workers and that they are not so prone to try to outreach "the King's horses and the King's men."

5. Social workers have drawn on the psychiatrist for help, and for some time these two professions have had a working relationship of a sort. The psychiatrist and the social worker need to continue to work together and to clarify further their professional functions in the area of direct treatment of marital discord or basic emotional difficulties emerging from any other source.

STAFF DEVELOPMENT IN THE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS¹

AGNES VAN DRIEL

THE Bureau of Public Assistance believes that plans for staff development constitute a necessary element in good administration in any organization. The Division of Technical Training is charged with the responsibility for that part of the Bureau's services which pertains to training, or what has been concluded is better termed "staff development." The functions of the Division of Technical Training are several and are closely related to the work of the whole Bureau. The primary function is the consultative service given to state departments administering public assistance on the various phases of staff development for employees engaged in the social service aspects of the agency's program. In relation to this the Division also has the responsibility for developing guiding principles upon which such staff-development programs may be based in order to safeguard sound educational standards and agency functions and procedures and to give a practical working basis for training on the job.

Another function is to prepare materials for use by the state agencies and by the Division's staff in helping state agencies with their staff-development programs and in conducting study courses or addressing groups within the state.

Consultative services of the Division of Technical Training are made available to state agencies administering public assistance through arrangement with the regional representatives of the Bureau of Public Assistance. Consultants from the Division, while in a state, are available for discussion with other agencies, educational institutions, and organizations on matters relative to in-service

¹ A report of the Division of Technical Training, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, read before the Special Committee on Personnel and Training advisory to the Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Public Assistance, Washington, D.C., January 25, 1940. Slight editorial changes have been made in the report as originally prepared, but neither its general form nor its content has been altered.

training and education for staff members and, whenever possible, will comply with requests made to the Division in Washington for participation in conference and meetings related to the general activities of the Division.

In the Social Security Board's training program the Division carries responsibility for presentation of the public-assistance aspects and co-operates with the other bureaus in general planning regarding training for the entire staff of the Board. Training plans for staff of the Bureau itself are proposed also by the Division.

Finally, it is a function of the Division representing the Bureau to co-operate with the other federal and state agencies and national organizations concerned with the problems of training as they touch public-assistance programs so that there is the best possible co-ordination of plans to meet the needs of the total staff of an agency.

STATES VISITED

During the calendar year 1939 consultative service has been offered by representatives of the Division of Technical Training, Bureau of Public Assistance, to twenty-two states² and the District of Columbia. Pennsylvania was visited three times during the year; Maine, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Michigan had two visits each, while the other states were visited only once. A second visit to a state does not necessarily mean that a discussion of the agency's total problem with regard to training was had at each visit. In some instances one or more was made for a specific program regarding only a portion of the agency's staff-development program as, for example, to help an agency plan an orientation period for newly inducted workers or to discuss with the agency plans which it had initiated for a state field staff meeting. Several state agencies recognizing their need for consultation on staff development requested such help but were not visited. This was because they and the Bureau's regional representatives in considering the agency's

² The states visited were: New England—Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont; Middle Atlantic—Pennsylvania; Northeast Central—Indiana, Michigan, Ohio; West North Central—Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, North Dakota; South Atlantic—Maryland, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia; East South Central—Kentucky, Mississippi; West South Central—Arkansas, Louisiana; Mountain—Wyoming.

total needs decided that some other need for service was more urgent and, therefore, should first be met before consultative service on staff development was introduced. As is discussed in a later part of this report, there is need for continuing development of relationships between the state agency, the regional representative, and the consultants in the Division of Technical Training, so that the state agency's service may most effectively be improved through best timing of help through line organization and consultants. As is also indicated in a later part of this report, service is frequently given to states in ways other than through direct visits by the consultants.

EDUCATIONAL LEAVE

The Bureau does not have complete information on the question of educational leave throughout the whole country. Three states—Washington, South Carolina, and Ohio—now have provisions in their public-assistance plans outlining plans for educational leave. In all three instances the statement on "Use of Federal Administrative Funds for Paying Salaries to State Staff Members on Educational Leave in Schools of Social Work," approved by the Social Security Board, was followed in preparing the conditions of their own plans. In addition to these three states, the Division learns in various ways that workers from many states have been attending schools of social work during 1939. Definite knowledge, however, is limited to those states which were visited for consultation on this subject and to additional information incidentally received. Unused F.E.R.A. funds are still available in certain states and have been used during the past year for purposes of educational leave. At least one state secured a state appropriation to be used for educational leave of staff members. Several states have taken formal action to grant leave of absence to workers to attend schools of social work at their own expense, where the agency did not feel justified in spending agency funds for this purpose. Workers from many state agencies have resigned to attend schools of social work at their own expense, taking the chance that when they returned they would be re-employed. In several instances the state agency itself did not know the number of persons who had gone from their staff into schools of social work.

As the number of states visited for consultative purposes is in-

creased, more continuing relationships with all states visited are developed, and a system for obtaining information which can be kept current, regarding educational leave in the states, begins to be a matter of record. It is expected that the next report of the Division of Technical Training will present more complete and definite data on this subject. The public-assistance programs profit materially from the results of educational leave granted to selected staff members through Child Welfare Services funds. There is ample evidence that workers in all areas of the state agencies are becoming increasingly aware of the need for professional education. Further, the personal sacrifices that many of these workers have made in an attempt to secure professional education testify to the sincerity of their desire to improve their competence. The question of the use of extension courses, whether graduate or undergraduate, professional or otherwise, has been a matter of consideration in practically every state in which consultation has been given. The questions which have emerged have centered in how such courses may profitably be used by state agencies as a part of their total staff-development program. These questions are familiar to the professional schools through direct experience. They have also been raised in the tentative statement "School-Agency Relationships," prepared by the Division of Technical Training as a basis for discussion of matters of mutual concern between educational institutions and social agencies.

STAFF DEVELOPMENT

Staff development within the respective state agencies has gone forward slowly. In planning with agencies the Division's emphasis is still upon training as a definite part of administration, realizing the potentialities of daily work for promoting growth in workers. There is still the need for helping agencies to use their regular administrative and supervisory processes in such a way that increased competence in the doing of their respective jobs will result. This often necessitates improvement, if not positive change, in content and method of current agency administrative practice as a first step. It also frequently necessitates clarification of the meaning of staff development as something directly related to the day-by-day work, instead of something artificially appended to agency work. To illus-

trate, a representative of one agency indicated that certain staff members would be unable to participate in that agency's plans for staff development for the reason that they were attending a local school of social work part time, while a state office worker in another agency said she had been so busy supervising workers that she had had no time to think of staff development!

Further, while training finds acceptance with many agency executives as a possible undertaking during periods of agency's work which might be considered "peace times," there is also the impression that in times of stress in the agency the training program must be put aside because of lack of time. Yet, there are outstanding examples of state agencies which have demonstrated that times of stress are the proving ground of the validity of a training program and that, if it is genuinely worth while, an agency's training program is needed more seriously during times of agency stress than it is during more quiet periods in the agency's work. To illustrate, in one state an "in-service" training program had been helpful in developing an increased competence in staff in the determination of eligibility of applicants and in administering assistance. When a new statute was passed reducing the age limit for eligibility and thereby increasing the number of applicants and the number of recipients of the agency, the workers met the changing situation with greater competence than they could have been expected to show had there been no training program in the agency. Conversely, some training programs, because they were designed for ultimate purposes rather than to meet immediate needs, have been thrown aside when agency pressures have become unusually great.

PERSONNEL STANDARDS

Inevitably the basic problems regarding staff development in an agency center in the need for good personnel standards, sound principles regarding public welfare, and an understanding of how to put into effect in an agency effective objectives of supervision. With reference to the first of these, the recent personnel amendments to the Social Security Act and the current development of merit systems in the states should eventually be a long step toward meeting the needs of better personnel, but the difficulties encountered in the

initial stages of operation cannot be minimized. Incidentally, the merit-system discussion has precipitated results from states hitherto indifferent to staff development, for help in specific preparation for staff examinations. In advising states regarding this, indication has been given that there is a reasonable connection between a sound program of staff development in an agency and probable ability on the part of staff members who successfully participated in such a program to pass examinations for agency positions. For an agency's staff-development program would be expected to ground workers in a knowledge of the federal act and state laws pertaining to public assistance and in sound policies and practices of administering public assistance, which subjects might be expected to be found in merit system examinations given for the selection of public-assistance agency staff. However, it has also been pointed out that this is not the primary purpose of a training program.

PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC WELFARE

With reference to the second of the basic elements referred to, that of sound principles of public welfare, staff members and professional schools all share in the search for sound principles and practice in this area. The objectives of public welfare, sound concepts of individual, community, and governmental responsibility, sound financing, these and many more, are elements that enter into the problem, for the solution of which the benefit of the best thinking of everyone is needed.

SUPERVISION

Consideration of the place of supervision among the basic elements must be included because it is through supervision—be it strong or weak—that to a great degree the standards of service rendered by the agency are determined. Efforts in training programs have therefore been directed toward strengthening of the field staff so that they may bring growth to the workers whom they supervise in the day-by-day work. This has been approached by a number of means, including clarification of duties of staff members and of agency policies, providing more leadership for the program, enrichment of staff meetings at state level so as to give more help and to give the help in different ways, discussion with the state field staff

of their use of county visits so as to strengthen county staffs, developing of policies (as working on the manual), and use of such policies in training. Through this means, the administration of the whole agency is strengthened in every one of its areas, by utilization of the regular channels through which supervision flows. In more than one state agency visited it has been clearly demonstrated that helps to staff members on the county level which are not related to the continuing service given by the district supervisor and not a part of his planning are of little value and may prove to be a positive danger by weakening rather than strengthening, through "undercutting" the regular supervisory service.

SCHOOL-AGENCY RELATIONSHIPS

The agencies and the schools have undoubtedly taken steps during the past year to improve their mutual relationship. This whole question of school-agency relationship is one which calls for continuing consideration. What is the function of each? What is the area in which the objectives of both school and agency meet? How can the fullest range of all available resources be utilized for the best interests of everyone concerned? The agencies will be ultimately helped in their work as the schools make clear through their own functioning, the answers to the questions: "What is the content of professional education?" "What is its function and objective?"

EVALUATIONS OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

State agencies have been encouraged by the Division of Technical Training to undertake evaluations of their staff-development programs, including an evaluation of the various individual parts of that program. A few state agencies have undertaken such attempts with generally worth-while results. In any such evaluation, consideration needs first be given to determining what constitutes a training program and what the objectives of the training program are. This whole consideration of what constitutes a training program seems highly important in the question of evaluations, since not infrequently an isolated fragment will show certain good results in terms of staff development when at the same time that particular undertaking definitely may not have been the thing most needed by the

agency in terms of the staff's total needs and in terms of the agency's total program. Again, such an isolated training fragment may fail to show valuable results, not because it of itself was not good as to content and method but rather because it had no supporting program.

With reference to the second consideration, the objectives of the training program, it seems obvious that an evaluation of a training program cannot be made unless the objectives of that program are clearly understood by those participating in the program and by all who evaluate it. Assuming that a staff-development program has as its objective the development of staff in order that they may more effectively perform their work to the end that the agency's purpose will be fulfilled, an evaluation of such a training program must look primarily to gains to the agency and only incidentally to gains to the individual worker.

If one accepts the principle that training programs must grow out of the day-by-day work and that the program as a whole must be closely integrated with the administration of the agency, then it becomes apparent that the possibilities of evaluating the training program are not clear cut. Some of the difficulties found in evaluating training programs in public-assistance agencies arise from the newness of the total program and from the fact that many elements, such as changes or additions to personnel, changes in appropriations for assistance and for administrative costs, and changes in state legislation cloud the evaluative process.

To illustrate evaluations of the training program, a certain public-assistance agency, organized on a state-wide basis, undertook a program of staff development for its entire staff. All members of the staff participated in planning the program in accord with most serious needs on the part of the agency and of the individual workers. Time objectives were set, and evaluations were made at such periods. The supervisors throughout the agency, as well as the workers, found objective evidence of the success of the program through an accelerated reduction of pending applications for assistance and in increased speed in review of case load—both of which had been specific objectives. Similar evidence of improved service of the agency was shown in improved record writing and in

better understanding of the agency's program on the part of the community, resulting from increased knowledge and use of community resources and from more effective interviewing. The process of evaluations by the worker and supervisor led to the establishment of objectives for the individual worker, made effective through the day-by-day supervisory work in the agency.

CONSULTANT VERSUS LINE-ORGANIZATION WORKER RESPONSIBILITY FOR STAFF DEVELOPMENT

Another situation demanding careful consideration from state agencies is in connection with the addition to their staff of a person for the particular function of staff development. When it is better to strengthen the regular line organization so that the supervisory processes may be more effective or when, instead, the administrative staff can do their work more effectively with the addition of a training consultant have been questions not lightly answered, even on the basis of the general principle that consultants should be added to a staff only when the line organization is sufficiently strong in quality and in numbers to carry the basic work of the agency.

Within the Bureau of Public Assistance the relationship which has been developed between the work of the consultants from the Division of Technical Training and the regional representatives forms the basis upon which work in the field is built. The determination of when a state can profit by consultant service should and does rest in the hands of the regional representatives. Their participation in the discussion which the consultant has with the state agency is important because of the inseparable relationship between training and administration, the latter being their responsibility as part of the line organization in federal-state relationships. However, after a consultant has been introduced to the state and a working relationship has been established, it has been found that it is unnecessary for the regional representative to participate in a continuing way through the whole of the consultation. This makes it possible for the regional representative to use consultant service and yet be free to carry on other aspects of his work with state agencies.

Indirect consultation by the staff of the Division of Technical Training has also been given the states by way of the regional

representatives, through materials submitted or in reply to inquiries raised by the states. These take different forms, some of them related to orientation periods being planned by the agency, suggestions for beginning an agency library, plans for educational leave, for agency institutes, or regarding training materials being developed by the agency. Conferences have also been held during the year with representatives of various state public-assistance agencies on the occasion of their being in Washington or at the time of the National Conference of Social Work.

TRAINING MATERIALS

During the year the Division continued its development of materials useful to members of the Division staff as a part of the consultative process with state agencies and useful to representatives of state agencies in their own staff-development programs. The materials prepared during 1939 were "Functions of a Consultant on Staff Development in Public Assistance," which was developed to clarify the work to be done in agency staff development, regardless of whether the responsible person is a member of line organization or a consultant brought to the staff for the especial function of training. The statement on "School-Agency Relationships" was tentatively developed as a starting-point for continuing exploration between schools and agencies of their respective and mutual functions and relationships. Statements on "Some Factors in State Supervision for a Public-Assistance Agency," "Staff Development as a Factor in Effective Administration," and "Basic Problems and Current Trends in Staff Development" were all written to meet specific needs expressed by agency workers and to supplement the Division's stock of working materials. The most recently distributed statement developed by the division is "Use of Staff Evaluations in a Staff-Development Program." This statement indicates the use of personnel practices (in this instance, staff evaluations) in relation to development of staff and to agency administration. During 1939 the "Selective Reading List" was revised, and a new edition made available. In the revision of the "Selective Reading List" there was kept in mind its original function. It has never been intended to be a bibliography but rather to serve as a tool in an agency's staff-de-

velopment program by offering suggestions for selected references in various aspects of the public-assistance program.

There are in preparation three additional pieces of materials: the outline suggested for use in an orientation period for newly inducted workers is being revised, amplified, and enriched. Care is being exercised in its preparation so as to help prevent some of the mistakes which have been made in orientation periods offered by certain agencies. Incidental but important, the Division believes, is that this orientation period not be called or thought of as a "course," but that it be an opportunity for new workers to familiarize themselves with the general background and the present objectives and practices of the agency into which they are being inducted. Another difficulty experienced by certain agencies offering an orientation period was that of undertaking to crowd too many of the things which a worker needs to know in his agency work into the few days of orientation. Instead, it is believed sounder practice to restrict it to those things which should give the new worker an awareness of the agency's background and purpose and something of an understanding of his specific job in relation to that of the agency as a whole and then definitely to relate orientation to continuing supervision on the job.

A statement is also being prepared on supervision which will attempt to give in skeleton form what supervision is and how it relates to development of staff competence for the purpose of good administration. In the process of preparation there is also a statement which suggests the use of resources supplementary to the regular supervisory processes of the agency, for the improvement of staff competence. Also, steps have been taken to secure appropriate case records and other materials, such as field reports and staff meetings and staff committee minutes which have potential teaching value. In the Division's work with states, certain materials have been found on such basic agency functions as determination of eligibility, for example, through which discussion of the legal authority of the agency might be directly related to the job at hand. This is the kind of material which it is believed has real value to an agency for use in its training program. It is expected that some such material will be ready for distribution in the near future.

In addition to the consultation work with states, representatives of the staff of the Division have participated in the state conferences of social work in Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, Michigan, and South Carolina. Institutes were given at all but the Michigan conference. A member of the staff of the Division also directed a section on "Supervision" at the Twentieth Annual Public Welfare Institute in North Carolina. Most of the persons registering in these study courses have been members of the public-assistance staffs. In each instance an attempt has been made to keep the agency's need in mind in the presentation of material and also to give help to the agency in tying in the results of such study courses with their total staff-development program. Staff members also participated in the National Conference of Social Work and in the American Public Welfare Association's Round Table Conference.

STATUS OF EFFORTS TOWARD IMPROVING WORKERS' COMPETENCE

The presentation of a report of the Division's work is made difficult because there is so little either of effort or of results which can be measured statistically. Also the many variables in the Division's work with states as well as differences among the state programs prevent its being a clear-cut picture. The results can be understood more clearly when they are seen state by state than by way of summarization, because the differing needs of states call for different approaches and different content and method in consultation. Therefore, the starting-place of the program differs from state to state, ranging from beginnings so simple as encouragement for holding regular field staff meetings to the difficult practice of undertaking self-evaluations as a part of the agency's program for development of staff. While results are difficult to measure, the undertakings of the states toward improving the competence of their staffs are concrete and realistic. As seen day by day, there are many discouraging factors, with reason to believe that if progress has been made it can be measured only by inches. However, the long look gives one greater encouragement. There are evidences of growing understanding of the need for adequate service to persons in need. There is something of a growing appreciation that any person can-

not administer public welfare as well as any other person, but that there is a professional content in the work which can be taught in schools of social work. Attempts at in-service training, themselves, have helped bring an understanding of the quality of leadership necessary for good agency administration. There is a growing appreciation on the part of workers that even the best qualified person must keep himself sensitive to the challenge of the job. Hence, the whole notion of training wherever it is found, regardless of the agency or organization, is based on the assumptions that in general individuals wish to do good work, that they have capacity for growth, and that the job to be done is dynamic not static. If these assumptions are correct, it also follows that the standard of service acceptable today is not good enough to be acceptable next month or next year. Together the agencies and the schools will find a way to render the kind of service to persons in need that all have a right to expect.

BUREAU OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE
SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD
WASHINGTON, D.C.

NATURALIZATION AND FAMILY WELFARE

DOORS CLOSED TO THE NONCITIZEN*

ADENA M. RICH

PREJUDICE and discrimination against the alien, on the one hand, and the difficulties in naturalization, on the other, represent an "upper and a nether millstone" at present for residents of the American community who are not citizens of the United States. A lawyer from the Social Security Board has explained the root of such a situation as "xenophobia." He reminded social workers at the National Conference of Social Work that it comes from two Greek words meaning "guest" and "hatred." "Xenos" in the Greek is the ordinary word for "guest." It was applied to the foreigner in Greece and to the stranger, but only to those who were welcomed as such. Indeed it reaches back to primitive bases of social adhesion, since it was always associated in the Greek mind and language with the God of hospitality. The word "xenophobia" is a contradiction in terms—the hatred of one you welcome.¹

Prejudice expresses itself in discriminations which bar the path of the social worker as well as that of the alien. In the light of present world-conditions it is both timely and important to see what alienage means to a client and to determine, in view of the large numbers welcomed into the United States in an earlier day, whether this country has taken all the steps possible toward uniting the peoples within its borders into a common citizenship and allegiance.

I. NUMBERS OF ALIENS AND CITIZENS IN THE UNITED STATES

Proportion of those who have become naturalized.—Misrepresentation of the number of aliens in the United States as compared with the number of foreign-born persons who have become citizens is partly due to the fact that the United States census figures are now ten years old. There have been official estimates in the meantime, however. Owing to naturalization, to deaths in the alien population, to

* The first part of this study was published in this *Review*, March, 1940.

¹ Address on "Social Security and the Alien" (1939), by A. Delafield Smith, Office of the General Counsel, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.

departures of emigrants, with due weight to the numbers of incoming immigrants from year to year, the United States Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization estimates that by July 1, 1939, the alien population in the United States had decreased to 3,628,103.² A very large proportion indeed of the foreign-born in the United States have become naturalized. Percentages will have changed in the 1940 census, but even in 1930 considerably more than half the foreign-born population in the United States, 55.8 per cent, had become full citizens of this country; another 8.9 per cent had filed Declaration of Intention; together, 64.7 per cent.³ The distribution of unnaturalized adults is country wide. Their concentration is in New York State with more than a million adult aliens; in Massachusetts with 457,400 aliens or declarants; in Pennsylvania with 397,962, in New Jersey with 302,726. Illinois, California, Michigan, Ohio, and Connecticut are the other states leading at the time with 100,000 or more foreign-born adults still alien. There is much work to be done in assisting them to citizenship.

Numbers not naturalized in Illinois.—In Illinois in 1930 there were unnaturalized adults in each of its one hundred and two counties—from Lake to Pulaski counties—351,516 in the state, 294,946 in Cook County alone.⁴ At the present rate, approximately 20,000 persons a year are naturalized within the Chicago district of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, which includes parts of five states in the Great Lakes region. Even if this number had been constant during the last ten years, which, however, is not the fact, there would apparently remain 100,000 or more unnaturalized persons in Cook County. Undoubtedly the number is considerably higher, perhaps indeed twice as many.

Before the Illinois Permanent Registration Election law went into effect in 1936 thousands of men and women, until asked to establish legal proof of their citizenship, had for good reasons firmly believed themselves to be citizens of the United States and had been voting for many years in that belief. The chairman of the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners has estimated that there may be as many

² *Annual Report, Secretary of Labor, 1939*, p. 109.

³ *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1930*, Vol. II: *Population*, p. 402.

⁴ *Adult Education*. Pamphlet by Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich for the Illinois Committee on Citizenship and Naturalization (1935). See map, p. 8.

as 150,000 such men and women in Chicago alone whose embarrassing situation will be brought to light during the present intensive, city-wide, election-board canvass.

The numbers of unnaturalized men and women in Chicago and in Illinois are sufficiently high, therefore, to be a matter of public concern. The Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago is at present giving individual assistance in problems of naturalization and citizenship to approximately 7,000 men, women, and children each year. The Adult Education Department of the Chicago Public School System—to which the League refers all naturalization applicants assisted for enrolment in the excellent adult classes in preparation for citizenship conducted by that department—reports a present enrolment in Chicago of more than 12,000 men and women. In similar classes organized by the Works Progress Administration in Chicago, vigorously promoted and closely correlated with the public school classes, the supervisor states that there are enrolled in Cook County at present 6,664 men and women who are preparing educationally for their citizenship examinations before the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service. In spite of the effective efforts of these two educational bodies, this means that not one-third of the aliens in Cook County are at present reached with educational or other assistance in problems of naturalization and citizenship. Some probably do not need it. But the Immigrants' Protective League has found, during its thirty-two years of existence, that it is often the well-educated "foreigner" who is most in need in his problems of adjustment to American life. A letter recently received is typical of many inquiries which relate naturalization to employment and which illustrate one of the most frequent of all the naturalization difficulties—that of proving the date and place and manner of entry into the United States.

CROWN POINT, IND. R.F.D. No. 1

EMIGRANT STATION:

In September, 1939 I and my wife American born girl, were to see you asking you to please help me trace the name of the ship I came to America in from Poland. Ship left from Germany 1902. Please let me hear from you, so I may be able to secure American citizenship rights to enable me to secure work to support myself and my wife. I hope you all ready have this information. Let me know as I am unemployed.

What are the discriminations, then, which face the alien at every turn? What doors are closed to him so that, generally speaking, he cannot maintain himself economically or enjoy the civil and political and social rights in the community or public protection in his old age?

II. TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION

There is one major responsibility of life in this country in which there is no discrimination against the alien—namely, in taxation! Citizens and noncitizens alike are taxed by the federal and state governments and by all the local units of government. The foreign-born have made no protest against this practice in the United States. They are too anxious to change their status from alienage to citizenship. This treatment brings uneasy remembrances of the Boston Tea Party and the causes which led to the American Revolution. Whether taxation should be exacted of the noncitizen when other rights and privileges and responsibilities are withheld in both law and practice, in spite of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States covering "every person," is a solemn question of justice.

III. WELFARE OF THE FAMILY DEPENDENT UPON UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP

1. *In immigration and emigration.*—The more recent newcomer is especially aware of the rights and privileges of citizenship as they relate to migration and travel and of United States citizenship as a basis for:

a) *The issuance of an American passport.*—This valuable document can carry its possessor into as well as out of the United States.

b) *Protection from deportation.*—Those who have just experienced expulsion as political or religious refugees do not quickly emerge from its shadow or forget its terrors. The very oldest settlers, on the other hand, may feel even greater terror at the threat of deportation.

A CHALLENGE TO UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP FOR THE FRANCHISE BRINGS A THREAT TO DEPORTATION

An old man originally from Prague came in frightened; kept repeating over and over,—“What will happen to me?” “What will happen to me?”

He had come to this country at the age of four months and thought that he was under twenty-one years of age when his father was naturalized in 1888. He procured an American passport for a last trip back to Czechoslovakia in 1924.

But now when challenged by the election commissioners he cannot prove that he is a citizen of the United States! If he is not, having returned subsequent to July 1, 1924, he might be guilty of a federal felony, subject to a \$10,000 fine, and deportation! His old Bohemia,—the Czechoslovakia that was,—would be intolerable for him at present. He says that he feels American! All possible records relating to his birth are being searched in the hope of finding proof that he is a citizen. If not he trusts, since sixteen years have elapsed since his return to the United States, that the "statute of limitation will have run" on any question of fraud or perjury in that connection, and he will therefore petition for naturalization under the "Misinformation Act."

c) *Non quota immigration visas.*—Both the long-time resident of the United States as well as the latest newcomer or refugee now find United States citizenship to be the qualification upon which rests his legal right to petition outside the quota for immigration visas for certain relatives in his immediate family. Under the present restrictive Immigration Act the children under twenty-one years of age of citizens, the wives of citizens, and the husbands (if the marriage occurred prior to July 1, 1932) of citizens may apply for immigration visas outside the immigration quota. The husbands of United States citizens whose marriage occurred subsequent to July 1, 1932, and parents of United States citizens may apply for immigration visas in the preference quotas for their respective countries. These citizens' immigration privileges are greatly prized at present for persons born in Germany or in the areas that once were Austria, Czechoslovakia, or Poland. The tremendous demand for visas within the small quotas for countries in which their nationals now feel oppression is beginning to be comparable to that experienced in the years immediately following the upheavals of the World War. As waiting lists become indefinite in length, the right even within narrow limits to take a husband or a wife, a parent or a child, out of a long quota-waiting list on the strength of one's own United States citizenship is becoming in some cases literally the right to life itself!

d) *Protection of the children of United States citizens from enforced military service abroad.*—United States citizenship is also more important each day as a protection of the children of citizens from enforced military service abroad. It is also important for the fathers themselves, if they are naturalized citizens, as is evident in the call of all its "nationals," wherever resident, by the French government at present. A very important ruling by the United States

Passport Office has recently been received by the Immigrants' Protective League in which it is stated that the department holds an "oath of allegiance for military service, especially if he is inducted into it under duress, does not expatriate a minor." This timely ruling is of the greatest importance to many men, especially Italians, who have lived for years in Chicago and other communities and whose rights of derivative citizenship depend upon safeguards against expatriation. The way in which the rights of persons in the United States, claimed by two countries, need to be protected is illustrated by the case of a boy helped by the Immigrants' Protective League.

A BULGARIAN STUDENT PROTECTED FROM ENFORCED MILITARY SERVICE ABROAD

A young engineering student rushed in with a call to return to military service in the Armies of Bulgaria. His father had been a citizen of the United States for years and had brought the boy to this country at the age of fifteen, so that he derived United States citizenship at the time. He felt American in every sense, and that he was suddenly facing the sacrifice of his whole future. He was promptly reassured, and the League took immediate steps to gather and submit documents in his behalf to the United States Department of State. The Chief of the United States Passport Office replied that a communication had been addressed to the American Legation at Sofia requesting that the case be taken up with appropriate authorities, and that the young man's "name be removed from the Bulgarian Military rolls." He has now with peace of mind settled down to his studies again in Chicago, and is making an excellent record.

2. *In basic civil rights and privileges in the American community.*—Both the newcomer and the long-time resident are keenly alive to the fact that it is United States citizenship which establishes his civil rights in the American community: (a) the right to a free ballot for or against the representatives of the government that determines his welfare and regulates his manner of living; (b) the right to serve as the judges and clerks of public elections; (c) the right to serve on juries; (d) the right to serve as witnesses in various proceedings.

Two influences have awakened the United States citizen to the value of his vote: (a) the plight of citizens of other countries who have no voice in the dictatorships over them and (b) the widely and rapidly increasing range of governmental functions and services in

the United States. To the foreign-born who become citizens of the United States the vote is the symbol of their acceptance into American life and of their right to share equally in its opportunities.

3. *In economic relationships.*—The right to vote leads also to the right of the United States citizen:

- a) For election to public office.
- b) For appointment to a public position.
- c) To eligibility for civil service examinations—city, county, state, or federal. The social worker finds, for instance, that the Italian “head of the family,” in order to continue his occupation as a “white wing” on the city streets, must take a city civil service examination and that to do so he must be a citizen of the United States. Or the social worker finds that the Polish or Czechoslovak wife in a client’s family, in order to hold her employment as scrub woman in the county building, the post office, or the federal courthouse, must take the county or the federal civil service examination, and to do that she must be a citizen of the United States.

d) United States citizenship is usually a qualification for work on government contracts, which are now of wide variety. Naturalization and citizenship become the primary step in the social worker’s plan for the family’s welfare, however, in more than one avenue of employment.

e) Certification under the W.P.A., which is “next door” to public employment, now requires full United States citizenship. The history of federal legislation on this point each year has been to draw the lines more sharply upon the point of citizenship.

The Federal Relief Appropriation Act of June 29, 1937, attached eligibility for noncitizens to the filing of a Declaration of Intention; the Federal Relief Appropriation Act of June 21, 1938, restricted eligibility to those with valid declaration; and the Federal Work Relief and Relief Appropriation Bill of February 4, 1939, “went the whole way” and provided that “*No alien* shall be given employment or continued in employment on any project prosecuted under the appropriations contained in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1938 or this joint resolution.”

The remarks of United States senators and representatives when this measure was pending in Congress in January, 1939, were very

much to the point. In speaking against it Representative Vito Marcantonio said:

In dealing with the so-called aliens we must bear in mind the innumerable difficulties that are placed before them in becoming citizens. In almost every instance it is not the fault of the alien that he is not a citizen. Courts ask him questions that even Supreme Court judges cannot answer. In many district courts, papers are denied him because he is on relief and W.P.A. Right here in this House you have consistently refused to make the process of naturalization easier and less costly. Therefore, why punish the so-called alien?

Furthermore, in persecuting these so-called aliens, you also punish their native-born children. They are good Americans. They were born here. Take their parents off the W.P.A. rolls because they are not citizens and you hit at these innocent native-born citizens of the United States. This discrimination is cruel, inhuman, and contrary to the best American traditions. It is not fair play to first make it almost impossible for the immigrant to become naturalized and then starve him because he is not naturalized. This is not patriotism. . . . At this time, when the world is filled with racial, religious, and political persecution, we should not indulge in it. To the contrary, America must stand out as a tolerant and humane nation.⁵

A period of thirty days was provided from February 4 to March 6, 1939, during which time evidence of full United States citizenship was required of all persons on the W.P.A. rolls. It was a month of desperation, just as the subsequent months have been for many, as they saw the means of livelihood for themselves and their families slip from under their feet.

A system of notarized sworn affidavits was set up by the W.P.A. as acceptable evidence of United States citizenship. This new citizenship requirement has resulted in a great flood of questioners at the office of the Immigrants' Protective League—some to ask assistance in proving that they are citizens as they believe; some to importune as to why they have not received their naturalization papers when their applications were filed months ago, perhaps as long as one or two years ago, for the volume of declarations and petitions means that the government is far in arrears in handling the various processes of naturalization; some for help in starting the naturalization process all over again or for the first time.

This stream covers a wide range of nationalities. There is an ap-

⁵ *Legislative Bull.* 2 (New York: Foreign Language Information Service, February 6, 1939), pp. 39-46.

preciable percentage of Mexicans, the latest newcomers. There are American-born Mexicans from Texas and other states of the Southwest whose status usually depends upon records of birth and marriage, for which public records are often nonexistent. There are many men who wonder if they have been expatriated. The heavy proportion are seasoned settlers in this country who have had a share in the production of predepression prosperity. Many came in the waves just before the World War, went into industry, where no questions were asked as to citizenship, worked so hard that night schools and citizenship classes for naturalization seemed impossible, filed declarations in thousands of cases which lapsed because records for certificates of arrival could not be located at the ports—often because those records were never made. In 1929, when Congress provided for certificates of registry for those arriving prior to June 3, 1921 (date of first quota act), many of these applicants either never heard of the new law or could not afford its twenty-dollar fee. Although the fee for a Certificate of Registry is now ten dollars, and the date has now been extended to July 1, 1924, that reduced fee is beyond many a W.P.A. budget.

THE FATHER OF NINE AMERICAN-BORN CHILDREN DISQUALIFIED

One of the first "Lay-Offs" who came in for help when the February 4, 1939, Act was passed, was an Italian with 9 American-born children. The W.P.A. wage had been \$55 per month. He had taken out his Declaration of Intention long ago, when he first came to the United States. It had lapsed after seven years, and he was under the impression in order to fulfill the residence requirements that he must return to one of the New England states to live, which he could not do. The Immigrants' Protective League assisted him to begin naturalization again, with new "first papers," but he lost his W.P.A. employment and the means of livelihood for his family.

The Illinois W.P.A. announced at the expiration of that month, in the spring of 1939, that 6,115 aliens had been discharged throughout the state, of whom 3,755 were in Chicago. This is the type of legislation which sounds plausible and fair but which in its wake may bring disastrous effects to more United States citizens than aliens in the country.

f) Not to be outdone by public authorities, many private indus-

tries now raise the question as to United States citizenship as a qualification for private employment. Many doors of employment are closed to men and women who are not citizens of the United States.

g) Some labor unions follow suit and prescribe United States citizenship as one of the requirements for membership, so that other work channels and opportunities are accordingly affected.

FILIPINO MUSICIANS FORBIDDEN TO PLAY IN CHICAGO

The way in which America may lose rather than gain in contributions to its life by inflexible rulings and laws as to United States citizenship is illustrated by the case of fifty Filipino boys engaged to play their musical instruments in the Hawaiian Village at Chicago's World's Fair. They were informed by the Musicians' Union and the Bus Boys' Union in Chicago that they could not continue unless they belonged to those Unions, and that they could not belong to those unions unless they were citizens of the United States. These Unions were not in the least interested in the fact that most Filipinos are not eligible to naturalization in the United States, and so through no fault of their own could neither become members of the Union nor citizens of the United States. The United States has fixed for the Filipino, during the period of possession of his Islands, a status of neither citizen nor alien, merely "ward," with no protection whatsoever, from this country. The fact that these boys added much local color to the Hawaiian Village and brought credit to the occupations represented by these Unions was completely disregarded. The Union Secretaries made it emphatic that the action of the American Federation of Labor was final. So fifty Filipino boys lost their jobs, and became dependent upon Chicago relief agencies. Social workers would be glad to obviate that plight for such boys. The way to do it is by Congressional Amendment, which will make them eligible to naturalization.

h) Professional organizations often bear the characteristics of labor unions in this respect. A nursing council, the medical association, or the bar association of a given community may prescribe United States citizenship as a qualification for membership, and the individual physician or nurse or lawyer has found that he or she could not succeed in his or her profession without acquiring such membership. Or the citizenship qualification may be specified under the state law as a condition of admission to practice.

i) This occupational field is further regulated by state licenses, in which the citizenship requirement is often stipulated. For a hunting or fishing license, for instance, United States citizenship is usually a prerequisite. The state statutes of Illinois, for instance, have required that, among those occupations licensed by the State Department of Registration and Education, for the occupation of public ac-

countant one must be a citizen of the United States. The Illinois General Assembly of 1939 enacted a group of new measures—the “Searcy Bills”—covering fourteen occupations in the licensing or practice of which, in Illinois, the professional man or woman must qualify with United States citizenship.⁶

There are licensing regulations also, old and new, in certain interstate lines of communication, such as those for telegraph and radio operators.

j) Ownership by aliens, of property other than licenses such as real estate, for instance—as in Illinois for a limited six-year period only⁷—is in certain communities circumscribed by the qualification of United States citizenship.

Social workers in all the states of the Union must keep up to date in their information as to discriminations in the new local legislation which close further doors to the economic adjustment of their clients. In the long run such discriminatory measures not only fail to benefit the community as a whole but actually work havoc to family welfare.

Until there was protest by the Immigrants' Protective League, the Federal Housing Authority in Chicago actually set up discrimination against aliens with respect to residence in the Jane Addams houses on the West Side. When it was pointed out, the Housing Authority recognized that this was both a discrimination against American-born children and a travesty upon the name of Jane Addams.

There is, however, pending in the Congress a measure, which has already been passed by the House of Representatives, which would set up such a new discrimination by law.⁸

4. *In social-security measures and programs.*—Under certain federal and state laws the benefits of social-security measures such as Workmen's Compensation, Mothers' Pensions, Aid to Dependent

⁶ 61st Ill. Gen. Assembly, 1939. Senate Bills 356-58, 360-70, inclusive, passed June-July, 1939. The occupations and professions covered are attorneys and counselors, insurance agents, brokers, solicitors and company service representatives, veterinary medicine and surgery, chiropody, registered nurse, dental practice, pharmacy, optometry, medical practice, architects, real estate brokers and real estate salesmen, horse-shoers, beauty culturists and apprentices, barbers.

⁷ Ill. Rev. Statutes, 1935, chap. 6, “Aliens Act of July 1, 1897,” art. ii.

⁸ H.R. 7922, an appropriation bill passed by the House of Representatives on January 18, 1940, would bar aliens from the benefits of the U.S. Housing Act.

Children, Pensions for the Blind, or Old Age Pensions are dependent in their application upon the status of partial or full United States citizenship by their recipients. The Bureau of Public Assistance of the Social Security Board has published charts of the characteristics of the various state plans for the care of old people, children, and the blind which are important to all social workers.⁹

a) *As to old age pensions.*—At the present time old people who have not secured their United States citizenship find themselves in a very unfavorable situation. Although the federal-aid legislation does not require it, almost three-fifths of the states now specify by law that the recipient must be a citizen of the United States. Twenty-nine states and the District of Columbia, with an alternative in six of the states, now require that the man or woman who receives an old age pension must be a citizen of the United States.¹⁰ Thousands of old people are consequently denied pensions because they are not citizens or, being citizens, cannot prove it.

A WIDOW WHO NEEDS AN OLD AGE PENSION

An old lady of ninety-four who needs an Old Age Pension was brought to the Immigrants' Protective League by a young Chicago attorney, for proofs of her citizenship. She was born in Scotland, and married there seventy years ago. Her husband was naturalized in Illinois about fifty years before the passage of the "Cable Act," but his Certificate was burned in a fire in Danville forty-three years ago. Perhaps the United States Department of Labor will find the original record and the examiner accept the proof that she is a citizen of the United States. But how futile. How little it matters now, whether these old people are or are not citizens of the United States! They must in any case have care.

b) *As to pensions for the blind.*—Blind people do not fare so badly. Of course their numbers are, generally speaking, comparatively few. Nine states and the District of Columbia do, however, require United States citizenship as a qualification for receiving a pension because of the handicap of blindness: Connecticut, Illinois, Indi-

⁹ *State Plans for Old-Age Assistance; State Plans for Aid to the Blind; State Plans for Aid to Dependent Children* ("Soc. Sec. Board Pub.," Nos. 16, 17, 18, rev. October 1, 1939 [Washington, D.C., 1940]).

¹⁰ Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

ana, Iowa, New York, North Dakota, Texas, Vermont, and West Virginia.

c) *As to aid to dependent children.*—With respect to mothers' pensions or other special forms of aid to dependent children, another group of states and the District of Columbia stipulate United States citizenship: Connecticut, District of Columbia, Illinois, Mississippi, and Texas. In all but Connecticut pensions are granted on Declaration of Intention. In Texas the child rather than the mother must be a citizen. In Illinois only American-born children are benefited.

The social workers of Illinois are already alert to the handicaps to childhood involved in such discriminations and are urging the passage of a new aid-to-dependent-children law in which the elimination of the citizenship requirement will be one of the benefits. As unemployment recedes and when wars subside, the equality of treatment guaranteed to all persons under the Constitution of the United States will perhaps be more fully carried out with respect to the foreign-born. In the meantime, the opportunity which challenges social workers everywhere is that of direct aid in the acquisition of citizenship. In order to render such aid effectively, the obstacles and difficulties in naturalization must be faced, analyzed, and overcome not only client by client but by congressional amendments and administrative simplification of the processes in securing citizenship.

IV. SOME REASONS WHY PEOPLE DO NOT BECOME CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES

Why is it that so many men and women who want United States citizenship more than anything else in the world cannot become naturalized? The reasons relate to the color of their skin, to their religious or political views regarding war, to the matter of renunciation of allegiance, to the formalities in restoration of United States citizenship, to inadequate provisions for safeguarding naturalized citizens from expatriation, to the exacting requirements as to proof of date, place, and manner of entry into the United States, to rigidity in the provisions covering the continuous and permanent aspects of residence requirements, to the arbitrary statute of limitation upon the Declaration of Intention, to inequities in educational tests in the naturalization examination, and most of all to high naturalization fees.

Never was there a time when citizenship was so necessary and never was there a time in the United States when its acquisition was as difficult as now. Fortunately, the subject of naturalization revision is a lively one in Congress. Four helpful measures were passed during the second session of the present Seventy-sixth Congress in 1939.

1. *Naturalization privileges for alien veterans.*—One measure reenacts certain naturalization privileges for alien veterans who served with the American forces during the World War.¹¹ The new amendment expires on May 25, 1940, however, after less than a year of life. Such naturalization privileges as a "token of appreciation," slight indeed in comparison with the risk of life, should be extended to veterans of the World War for all time. Social workers, who are immediately concerned with the care of veterans, and all patriotic organizations everywhere may well devote special attention toward the passage of such legislation.

2. *Renunciation of allegiance.*—A second new act¹² provides general renunciation of allegiance in the naturalization oath, an amendment long advocated by the Immigrants' Protective League. Until this 1939 amendment was passed the applicant for naturalization has been required to take an oath of allegiance in which he "absolutely and entirely renounces and abjures all allegiance and fidelity to, any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, and *particularly by name* to the prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of which he was before a citizen or a subject." This provision has been interpreted to mean the present sovereign of the place where the applicant was born. There has been trouble over this technical matter of renunciation of allegiance ever since the Treaty of Versailles. Sovereigns die, abdicate, have been assassinated or deposed—sometimes very quickly indeed. National boundaries are constantly moving. Even before the conquests of Manchuria, Abyssinia, Albania, or Poland, it was said by a geographer of the United States Department of State that approximately "one-seventh or one-eighth of the

¹¹ H.R. 805, now Public No. 146, introduced by Representative John Lesinski of Michigan.

¹² H.R. 2200, now Public No. 128, introduced by Representative John W. McCormack of Massachusetts.

population of Europe had changed sovereignties since 1918." Often the applicant, and even the clerk and the court itself, has not known the name of that specific sovereign or the country to which the place of birth at present belongs. The Naturalization Service has made every effort to assist in correcting the name of the foreign ruler, but delays and difficulties in this connection have cluttered up the process, taken the time of the examiner, and involved expense to the applicant. The Immigrants' Protective League had information that at one time, in the Chicago Naturalization District alone, a thousand naturalization applications were invalidated because the wrong king had been named in the application.

3. *Requirements as to continuous and permanent residence.*—A third naturalization amendment of 1939 tempers to a very limited degree the requirement of continuous residence for naturalization. It "enables ordained clergymen, priests or rabbis to be away from the United States for more than the statutory period without thereby breaking the continuity of their residence in the United States for naturalization purposes. Their absence must, however, be in connection with their work and duties."¹³ For "admission to citizenship," with certain exceptions for the wives and husbands and foreign-born children of United States citizens, the naturalization law requires that "immediately preceding the date of his petition the alien has resided *continuously* within the United States for at least *five years* and *within the county* where the petitioner resided at the time of filing his petition *for at least six months*."¹⁴ A Declaration of Intention must be made "in the district in which such alien resides." The naturalization law is based on an old-fashioned theory of population which is no longer true. A student at the University of Chicago, for instance, who made her application for "second papers" in Baton Rouge and who does not expect to return to Louisiana, finds that her petition cannot be "honored" in Illinois, although she has lived in Cook County more than the necessary six months and for more than the required period in the United States, and in spite of the fact that naturalization is regulated by the country-wide United States Immigration and Naturalization Service—simply because she is not now living in the district in which her application was filed.

¹³ H.R. 4100, Public No. 349 (1939).

¹⁴ The italics are the author's.

Under present rulings she must make a new petition in Chicago. Similarly, an artist who moved a year ago from California to Illinois, a portrait painter of distinction connected with a leading art gallery in Chicago, found that he could not move his pending naturalization petition but must file a new one in Chicago. This is another *reductio ad absurdum* in the naturalization process which delays citizenship. It is believed that this obstacle to naturalization could be modified by a new administrative ruling in harmony with the increased means of intercommunication. It is only since 1929, if applicants moved from place to place *within the same state* while petitions were pending, that witnesses' depositions could be taken before examiners in order to establish residence. From the standpoint of migration there should be far more flexibility in the requirements as to both the continuous and the permanent aspects of residence. Absence of one year or more immediately preceding the filing of the petition, in the words of the law, "*shall break the continuity of such residence*" for purposes of naturalization. There are often important reasons which prolong absence from the country beyond the period of one year, during which, however, familiarity with the customs and government of the United States may not be lost. These reasons relate to the birth of children abroad, to the sale of real estate or disposal of other property, to illness of parents, perhaps visited for the last time. Some provision should be made whereby the "presumption of broken residence" might "be overcome by the presentation of satisfactory evidence that such individual had a reasonable cause for not returning to the United States prior to the expiration" of that year.

There is the same need of flexibility as to the permanent aspect of the residence requirement. It is believed that the three words "for permanent residence" should be stricken out of the law. The requirement as to "lawful entry" would still remain and also that as to "good moral character." Immigration itself is regulated by selection, so that only those who are mentally sound, physically fit, morally clean, politically compatible, and economically able are admitted at all into the United States. Many desirable "immigrants" have come to the United States on a temporary status. While in the United States, in many cases, their immigration status has changed in fact but not in the official records of entry. In such cases legisla-

tion is desired by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service which will permit change of technical immigration status without the present futile and expensive and unnecessary trip out of the country and back again in order to change the records.

A Czechoslovak was naturalized in the United States while his daughter was a minor; and the daughter now finds that she did not become a citizen through her father's naturalization because she was technically on "student status" while living in the United States. She has made a brilliant record in an American "approved school." But her entry was technically at the time not for "permanent residence." The tests as to her fitness and desirability have been much more convincing, however, than mere permanency of technical immigration status in the beginning would have been. It is believed that the United States is well protected in its requirements for naturalization without the three words "for permanent residence" as a qualification for the filing of a declaration.

In one respect the residence obstacle has been simplified. When the alien is blamed, however, for his failure to become a citizen of the United States, it should be remembered that there was a period following the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924 when men could not bring their wives and families to the United States "non quota" as now, because they were not citizens of the United States; and they could not become citizens of the United States because they could not bring their families. The plight of those separated families is shown by a letter dated February 14, 1925, signed by the Commissioner of Naturalization addressed to "Head Naturalization Examiners":

CIRCULAR LETTER No. 106. 23/1276

Reference is made to Circular Letter from the Bureau No. 30 dated May 6, 1924, under cover of which there was enclosed a copy of a memorandum from the Assistant Secretary regarding the question of naturalization of aliens whose families are abroad. As a supplement to the opinion contained in the memorandum . . . your attention is invited to the following received from Assistant Secretary Henning as Acting Secretary . . . : "I want to repeat what I have said frequently to you, that an alien whose family is in Europe has never lived in the United States, no matter how many years he may have been here. He cannot be naturalized because he has not complied with that requirement of the statute that he must have resided here for five years. It is the common law of the United

States and the common law of the world and decent philosophy and sound doctrines that a man resides where he has his family and maintains his family." You will oppose the granting of all petitions where the family is not residing in this country.

That order was rescinded in May, 1925, after decisions in two important cases which came before the federal district court in Philadelphia. In refusing the recommendation of the Naturalization Examiner and in granting citizenship to the two applicants, Judge Horace Stern made the following comment: "As to this proposition constituting the common law of the United States it is sufficient to state, what every tyro in the study of law knows, that exactly the reverse is true, namely that the domicile of the husband or father determines the domicile of the family."¹⁵

How many thousands of men were unable to secure their papers for this reason at that time will never be known. The United States Immigration and Naturalization Service makes a special point of questioning the applicant whose family is abroad, often requiring him to produce documents as to their intentions. Perhaps the Service might go one step further in the interest of family welfare and approve immigration visas on the spot so that husbands and wives, parents and children, might be united without delay.

4. *Proof of legal entry.*—The most important of the four naturalization acts of 1939 extends the date of the legalization of entry privilege *nunc pro tunc*, from June 3, 1921, the date of the first quota act, to July 1, 1924, the date of the quota act which is now in effect. It permits aliens who between those dates entered the country illegally or remained here illegally to regularize their status by securing a certificate of registry. After they have such a certificate they are able to proceed with naturalization.¹⁶ In order to be charged to a quota and have a record of entry adjusted or made permanent an alien must undergo a new searching examination before a United States immigration inspector, and only if he or she "(1) entered the United States prior to July 1, 1924; (2) has resided in the United

¹⁵ Decisions not reported; but see "Abdallah's Naturalization and Barniak's Naturalization," *Philadelphia Legal Intelligencer*, May 15, 1925; also Cecelia Razovsky, "Americanizing Husbands: Shall We Naturalize Only Wife Deserters?" *Survey*, August 15, 1925.

¹⁶ H.R. 3415, now Public No. 315 (1939).

States continuously since such entry; (3) is a person of good moral character; and (4) is not subject to deportation."

The need of this legalization of entry privilege was advocated by the Immigrants' Protective League long before legislation, for there are errors in the records as to names or dates, ports or vessels. Ships' manifests are often in foreign scripts. "Many of the indices to those records have become almost indecipherable" or are lost. The Canadian entries were for a time kept in stenographers' notebooks. Applicants cannot always remember the name of a boat or a date of arrival. The act of 1929, however, while establishing one privilege, took away another when it set up the requirement of a Certificate of Arrival as a preliminary to the filing of a Declaration of Intention. An exception was made in 1932 for persons who had entered the United States prior to June 29, 1906. In its enforcement it begs the very question which that amendment was meant to obviate. For, although the applicant for "first papers" who arrived prior to June 29, 1906, is not required to secure a Certificate of Arrival, under the naturalization rules he must nevertheless prove that he arrived before that date. No naturalization problem is causing more difficulty at present. All kinds of old receipts, gas bills, tax warrants, life insurance policies, and old records of every description are being unearthed to establish entry into the United States before June 29, 1906, and affidavits are being executed by the thousands. Much of this effort is needless. The 1939 amendment did, however, open doors to naturalization for thousands of men and women who before its passage found themselves in the anomalous position of being neither deportable nor eligible to naturalization.

1921 to 1924 were years of confusion in immigration matters. This was the period when ships raced across the Atlantic to bring their passengers to port as soon after the first of the month as possible, in order that they might enter within the quota. If too late, passengers were sometimes admitted temporarily without any realization on their part as to the distinction between temporary and permanent admission . . . persons who entered the country without proper examination between June 3, 1921, and July 1, 1924, some intentionally, many unintentionally—aliens who through more than fifteen years have proved themselves law-abiding residents, who have had the right to remain here indefinitely.¹⁷

¹⁷ Read Lewis (director), *Must They Be Aliens Forever?* (New York: Foreign Language Information Service, 222 Fourth Ave., 1939).

Persons whose original entry between those dates was upon a temporary status can now at last become citizens of the United States. The procedure under these provisions entails the filing of a complicated application on "Form 659," with supporting letters from employers and others who can testify as to length and continuance of residence in the United States. Application for Certificates of Registry are pouring into the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service. The Foreign Language Information Service points out:

Prior to the amendment of the registry act an applicant had to wait about eight months for his certificate of registry; it is estimated that because of this flood of applications the waiting period will be from 18 months to two years. Shortly before adjourning last August, the 76th Congress appropriated an additional quarter of a million for the Immigration and Naturalization Service . . . but as this money was rather definitely earmarked for naturalization work . . . none of it is being used for immigration work in which category registry under the act of March 2, 1929 is held to belong. . . . Seventeen new employees have been added to the staff of the division at Ellis Island which handles certificates of arrival verifications and nine new examiners as well as a number of clerks and stenographers have been assigned to the New York naturalization office. It is hoped that this increase in staff will materially decrease the naturalization delays which have been the source of much dissatisfaction to the Service as well as to the aliens seeking citizenship.

Many immigrants in states along the Canadian and Mexican borders entered as visitors "for business or pleasure" or to work or look for work before the United States Supreme Court handed down its "Border Crossing Decision."¹⁸ In such cities as Detroit, Chicago, and Buffalo there have been some thousands of men and women whose travel status, entirely legal at the time, was that of commuter who were therefore not charged to their respective quotas and who could not in view of this decision take out their naturalization papers. Among those also benefited are a number of alien seamen who settled down in Chicago, New York, and various seaboard cities, not being fully aware that they were entitled to shore leave of only sixty days before they were expected, under the immigration law, to "reship foreign." Many of them now have American-born families and have come to look upon this country as home even though they are ineligible to United States citizenship.

¹⁸ *United States v. Karmuth*, 24 F. (2d) 649 (1928); 279 U.S. 231 (1929).

THE FATHER OF AN AMERICAN FAMILY WHO DID NOT
"RESHIP FOREIGN"

The first person assisted under this Act by the Immigrants' Protective League was a Swedish sailor who had not heard of the new law, but who came in for naturalization advice just after the amendment was signed by the President. He had arrived in the United States on October 13, 1923, and because of his skill as a navigator had found his services greatly in demand as the captain upon private yachts. He and his family, who are well established in Chicago, are happy that this husband can qualify at last for the United States citizenship in which they will feel so great a protection.

Within its narrow limits this amendment represents certain opportunities for change of immigration status without going out of the United States and making a re-entry in order to change the record at the port. The act is so limited, however, that it does not benefit other groups of law-abiding residents in the United States in whose record of entry some difficulty has arisen which precludes naturalization. Mistakes still occur, even since the strict provisions of the Immigration Act of 1924, in the dates and names and other records of entry into the United States. The whole business of proof of legal entry or of the establishment of an arrival date has attained proportions completely out of scale. To many old settlers who came before the World War, it appears either an idle question or as a holdup for a fee which they regard as a kind of penalty for something which is not in the least their fault.

A WIDOW TO WHOM THE NAME OF HER SHIP
IS UNIMPORTANT

A woman was referred to the Immigrants' Protective League by the Englewood District of the Family Service Bureau in Chicago to work out the facts as to her arrival in the United States which was long before the World War. Her husband had died of tuberculosis. There are nine children. The District Superintendent wrote that since she is "eligible for the Mothers' Pension, we are very anxious to have her citizenship secured. Apparently she has tried to get her papers before but has been told that because she could not verify the time of her arrival, she cannot get them. We have instructed her as to the time your Polish interpreter is there, and urged her to come in as soon as possible." The League's interviewer reported that "she knows some one who arrived in the United States when she did and who has received the Certificate. As soon as she gets more information she will return."

She did not return for four months, then came in response to a letter. "Said

she did not come sooner because she was not yet able to get any definite information. Said the friend who came with her does not remember anything; another is now living in Poland; she would try to communicate with her brother-in-law and perhaps he would remember at least the name of the agent, the year and month when he purchased her steamship ticket. She will return only when she has additional information because she cannot afford the carfares. Is on relief."

She did not return at all, so the League finally wrote making inquiries as to her naturalization. She replied promptly in a simple letter, which from both human and legal standpoints makes such requirement seem foolish and unnecessary. "I have not taken out the papers which you asked if I took out. *There is no possible way for me to pay \$10 to find out which ship I came on.* I have a family of ten and just one boy to support all of them. If there is any possible chance to get it for less than that I would appreciate it. So I have not heard any more about the papers."

Little by little, during the last ten years, a top-heavy redundant process has grown up with respect to proof of legal entry. There are in it at least four points of duplication in federal red tape:

a) Since the "legalization of entry" acts of 1929 and 1939, for persons who have entered the United States prior to July 1, 1924, and who secure Certificate of Registry under those acts, such a document with its ten-dollar fee represents the government's own certification as to legal entry and might easily serve in lieu of a Certificate of Arrival for naturalization. In fact, it is required for naturalization if a record of arrival cannot be located for years between June 29, 1906, and July 1, 1924.

b) Since July 1, 1924, the date of passage of the immigration act now in operation, the application for immigration visa, which is made in the office of the United States consul abroad, is stamped by the consul when the visa is used, and the application so authenticated is sent for permanent filing to the United States Immigration and Naturalization Office in Washington. It certainly constitutes original legal proof of legal entry. A fee of ten dollars is charged for it, and it is quickly available. A Certificate of Arrival is emphatically not needed for any individual applicant for naturalization who has arrived in the United States subsequent to July 1, 1924.

c) On July 1, 1928, an administrative system of Immigrant Identification Cards was put into effect by the United States Department of Labor for immigrants who have entered the United States since that date. Those little green-blue 3×5 cards are certainly

prima facie evidence of legal entry into the United States and might well serve in lieu of a Certificate of Arrival for naturalization.

d) A separate Certificate of Arrival is required, however, even in cases of persons who are in possession of any of these other documents which are either on file at or issued by the very same federal service.

This is certainly proof compounded! It is another *reductio ad absurdum* in federal administration. Adequate correlation of these four types of records within the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service could save time, expense, and discouragement not only for the applicant for naturalization but also for the Service itself. Some simplification at this point in the naturalization process could be accomplished without legislation. The process would best be sheared of unnecessary detail, however, if the Congress abolished the Certificate of Arrival for these groups as it has done for those who arrived prior to June 29, 1906. In fact, the Certificate of Arrival is probably obsolete. Although other immigration documents have now in effect taken their place, the Service is still searching for its own "port-of-entry records" over a thirty-four-year period, from 1906 to 1940, in order to secure another original record to cover the same fact. It is small wonder that the Service is a stale-mate in such searches, that it is far behind in its Certificate of Arrival section, and that flocks of new clerks are needed everywhere for the record hunt. It is small wonder that the bewildered naturalization applicant does not understand why he cannot secure his papers. If the long delays at this point alone were obviated, a large measure of the obstruction to orderly naturalization would be removed.

There could easily be simplification also, for the old settlers, in the clumsy documentary evidence exacted for entry prior to June 29, 1906, and subsequent residence in the United States. They come in plaintively to say that "all their friends are dead" and that "there is no one to make affidavits" about their early days in Chicago. Or they have come to work in Illinois industries after a first experience in the mines and shops of Pennsylvania and Ohio or states farther east and lost all their original records at the time of some mine disaster or flood. The naturalization process at this point could be simplified with new rules by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service.

OTHER NATURALIZATION PROBLEMS WHICH NEED AMENDMENTS

1. *The Declaration of Intention.*—It is a question also as to whether the Declaration of Intention has not become in many cases an obsolete document. It is a relic of the days before restriction of immigration. When there were no quotas and travel was open between other countries and the United States, this "first paper" represented a personal decision as to whether the alien expected to settle down and make the United States his home. Now he makes that decision, if possible, before he leaves the mother-country and enters the United States accordingly—either as a "temporary visitor" or as an "immigrant alien for permanent residence." His very choice of immigration status, unless he cannot secure the status desired, indicates his intention at the time of his visa application at the United States consulate abroad. Men and women who enter for "permanent residence" may well be considered therefore to have made their declarations of intention. The naturalization law should be amended in the light of the changed immigration situation.

The fact that a Declaration of Intention is now for the most part superfluous has been recognized by the Congress for certain groups of persons. When the matter became important in relation to W.P.A. eligibility the district director of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service in Chicago summarized those groups as follows:

1. *Women:* (a) who married citizens or whose alien husbands may have become naturalized after September 22, 1922; (b) who lost their citizenship by marriage and desire to regain it.

2. *Men or Women:* (a) who married citizens after 12 o'clock noon, Eastern Standard Time, May 24, 1934; or (b) whose husband or wife was naturalized after the above time and who may be naturalized after proving three years' residence.

3. *Persons eligible for repatriation:* (a) who took oaths of allegiance to a foreign sovereign or State in connection with military service or otherwise; (b) native women who lost their American citizenship by marriage and whose marriage has been terminated.

4. *Persons who through misinformation* bona fide exercised the rights and privileges of citizenship prior to July 1, 1920.

5. *Persons rendering military service:* (a) during the World War (limited legislation); (b) veterans who served in the armies prior to January 1, 1900.

6. *Children who derive citizenship through the naturalization of a parent.*¹⁹

¹⁹ Letter dated July 30, 1937, from Mr. Fred J. Schlotfeldt, director, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Chicago district.

The naturalization law should be amended so that a Declaration of Intention might be optional for the applicant. There is emotional value in it, to be sure, and a sense of protection at the present time for newcomers who have escaped from oppression in dictator countries abroad.

A FORMER RESIDENT OF MUNICH

A former resident of Munich, for instance, dispossessed of large land holdings, the ownership of a feather factory, and property rights held for generations, who arrived with his family to resettle in the United States hastened to begin the naturalization process upon the day after his arrival. He consulted the Immigrants' Protective League. Although, as the husband of an American citizen,—married subsequent to the passage of the "Cable Act" of September 22, 1922,—he needed no "first paper" under its so-called Equal Rights Amendment of May 24, 1934,—nevertheless, because he felt a sense of protection in even this first stage of naturalization, he filed a Declaration of Intention at once. He knew that he must wait for a three-year period of continuous residence before he could actually become a full citizen of the United States. There was just time within this residence period, without incurring delay in connection with the later Petition, for the necessary minimum of two years which under the general Federal Naturalization Statute must elapse between the filing of "first" and "second papers." He wished, quite naturally, to complete citizenship at the earliest possible date.

The Declaration of Intention is also useful evidence for noncitizens who wish to travel outside the United States but wish to be sure that they will be readmitted upon their return to their unrelinquished domicile in the United States. Just how absurd it is, however, to require of old settlers now, at this late date, a Declaration of Intention that they expect to remain permanently in the United States is well illustrated by the case of a grandmother of eighty-nine years who applied for old age assistance and was asked to prove that her husband was a citizen.

A PRE-CHICAGO-FIRE RESIDENT REQUIRED TO FILE A DECLARATION OF INTENTION

This feeble old lady had arrived in Chicago in 1853 at the age of two years from Germany. She was married before the Great Fire. Her children were born in 1870, 1871, and 1874. She knew Chicago when it was little more than a prairie and saw it rebuilt after it had been laid in ruins. She had been a good mother, giving her American-born children all the advantages within her power. Her husband had died in 1913 and she was quite certain that he was naturalized before 1871, the year of the Chicago fire. The records were of course burned. She is in all probability a citizen through her husband but cannot prove it. She can-

not file an application for "second papers" under the "Misinformation Act" because she did not vote "prior to July 1, 1920." She had to apply for her Declaration of Intention, "first papers," which means simply that in the year 1938 she stated that she intends to remain in the United States. By the year 1942 if her application is expedited, at the age of 92 if still living, she will again be an American citizen eligible to receive an Old Age Pension from the State of Illinois.

If the declaration itself is now for the most part an unnecessary step in the tedious processes, still less is there any reason for the arbitrary seven-year statute of limitations for the life of a declaration. Hundreds of thousands of aliens in the United States would now be full citizens and entitled to rights and privileges in the community if the business of naturalization had been more expeditious. According to the last United States census, there were resident in this country, at that time, 1,218,416 adults aliens who had secured their "first papers" but not their "second." It is safe to say that most of them had come before the World War. Many of them never heard of the fact that a declaration would expire on some fixed date. Afterward, when they found that they must pay new fees and "begin all over again," they became completely discouraged and gave up the effort. The United States Immigration and Naturalization Service recommended during the administration of the late Colonel McCormack that the seven-year limit of validity for a declaration should be removed. It is most encouraging to find that this change has been recommended also by the President's Committee on Revision of the Nationality Laws of the United States.²⁰ This recommendation should certainly be supported by social workers everywhere, as an immediate means to assist their foreign-born clients.

2. *Educational tests in the naturalization examination.*—Another reason why foreign-born men and women have not secured naturalization certificates is that they have been "found poor in their knowledge of English and civics." As far as the law is concerned,

²⁰ *Codification of the Nationality Laws of the United States: A Report Proposing a Revision and Codification of the Nationality Laws, Prepared at the Request of the President by the Secretary of State, the Attorney General, and the Secretary of Labor, Parts I, II, III (1939).* "These three Secretaries were designated by the President's Executive Order of April 25, 1933, as a Committee to review the nationality laws of the United States, to recommend revisions and to codify the laws into one comprehensive Nationality law for submission to the Congress" (*Summary of Proposed Changes in the Naturalization Laws, Part I: "Specific Changes,"* chap. xix, p. 64).

there are three requirements: the applicant for "second papers" must sign the petition "in his own handwriting"; be "able to speak the English language"; be "attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States." Interpretation varies widely in the various naturalization districts. It has even been considered as sufficient authority to impose a definite educational test, without such specific provision in the law. The arguments for such a test are plausible. It must be remembered, however, that opportunity for adult education in the United States has always been far from adequate and during the depression was still further curtailed; that such opportunity is unequal in the various parts of the United States and in some communities never existed or has been entirely abandoned; that in only a few states is an educational test imposed before citizens are permitted to vote.

One of the first points at which the operation of the immigration and naturalization laws was surveyed when Colonel MacCormack was appointed commissioner of immigration and naturalization in 1933 was in respect to the educational qualifications for naturalization. His findings led him to point out:

Character is, and must continue to be, the prime qualification for citizenship. There are men who have had little formal education but who have had a rich and beautiful home life, have supported their families, become taxpayers and property owners, and have given their children the educational advantages they themselves have been denied. These are qualifications for citizenship which demand the consideration of all concerned with the examination of applicants.²¹

Miss Addams had called attention to the mistaken emphasis in the pressure for United States citizenship when she described the effect of such a qualification for a mother's pension:

Nothing is more touching than the desperate efforts made by widows whose husbands were not citizens and who can secure mothers' pensions only after they have "obtained their papers." Although many do triumphantly and proudly acquire citizenship, thereby proving to their children that they are not "green-horns," I will confess that I am often filled with a dark foreboding as to the final situation of the unsuccessful. As they make their way to the front door, after the lesson is over, collecting their little children who have been cared for in another room, I sometimes talk to the discouraged ones, conscious of an inner ques-

²¹ Foreword to *Naturalization Requirements concerning Race, Education, Residence, Good Moral Character, and Attachment to the Constitution*, Lecture No. 8 (1934). U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

tion in regard to these children who have been born in the United States and are here for the rest of their lives. Isn't it all to our advantage that they should be properly fed and given home care under the Mothers' Pension Act, in spite of the fact that their mothers may be unable to answer certain questions about the Constitution of the United States? Have we failed to revise our tests of citizenship to meet the current situation? Are these tests out of date and ill-adapted to our actual needs for a properly nurtured childhood? . . . After all, literacy is neither a test of character nor of ability; it is merely an index of the educational system of the community in which a man may be reared.²²

Ignorance as one of the main reasons among those for which petitions for naturalization are denied dropped in percentage after the World War when the country had been shocked at the results of the mental tests given to the young men of the United States Army and the Naturalization Service took a leading part in stimulating the provision of adult education facilities, in the improvement of teaching standards, and in the enrolment of pupils. It would seem advantageous for the United States to attack again the problems of ignorance at that point instead of in the direction of increasing, through legislation establishing definite educational tests—as have from time to time been proposed—the high percentage of “denials because of ignorance.” In the Chicago district at one time more than one-third of all those who were denied were rejected on the finding that they were “poor in their knowledge of English and civics.” Not by making naturalization more difficult because of educational tests but by making it more possible, because a means of education is provided, will the quality of citizenship in the United States improve. Toward such an end the federal government should certainly stimulate and encourage state aid for adult education. If that fails, it would be to the advantage of the United States to provide federal aid for that purpose, as was done in effect just after the World War, as has been proposed in various sessions of the Congress since, and as is possible through the passage of the Harrison-Thomas-Larrabee Bill now pending before Congress.²³

Certainly the disproportion between the numbers of men and women who need naturalization and who should prepare for the examination and the numbers enrolled in adult classes in Chicago,

²² Jane Addams, *Second Twenty Years at Hull House*, p. 273.

²³ H.R. 3517 and S. 1305, 76th Congress.

for instance, is argument enough for the widening of such facilities through federal aid. Opportunity for adult education for a client may solve the social worker's problem directly in a family whose foreign-born parents need old age pensions.

3. *Religious or political views with respect to war.*—Another reason why people do not become naturalized—of which fact the country may be especially aware in times of war—is the policy with respect to the oath to bear arms. This is at present Question 26 upon the application blank for a naturalization petition. The naturalization law fixed no qualifications as to the religious views of the applicant, probably because the Constitution of the United States provides in its First Amendment that “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech.” In practice, however, applicants have been denied citizenship when their religious views precluded their oath to bear arms. Citizens of the United States, whether by birth or by naturalization, should be governed by the same laws, regulations, and obligations, and should be held equally willing to “support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic, and bear true faith and allegiance to the same.” Indeed, they are so governed under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution in which it is specified without distinction that “all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.” Since freedom of conscience, by declaration and tradition of the United States, is inherent in the life of this country, the naturalization process should conform to that principle. That it does not do so in either the administration or in the judicial interpretation of the law has been repeatedly made manifest since the World War. Three decisions of the United States Supreme Court²⁴—the cases of Rozika Schwimmer, a suffragist and pacifist; of Rev. Douglas Clyde MacIntosh of the Yale Divinity School who was a chaplain in the Canadian army with service at the front at Vimy Ridge, the battle of the Somme,

²⁴ *United States v. Rozika Schwimmer*, 279 U.S. 644 (1929); *Douglas Clyde MacIntosh v. U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals*, 42 F. (2d) 845 (1930); *U.S. v. MacIntosh*, 283 U.S. 605 (1931); *Marie Averil Bland v. U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals*, 283 U.S. 636 (1931).

and in the San Mihiel region during the World War; and of Marie Averil Bland, the Canadian nurse, daughter of an Episcopalian minister who also served during the World War in France—these are ample evidence of the temper of the court upon this question. Professor MacIntosh stated, when examined by the court, that “he was ready to give to the United States in return for citizenship all the allegiance he ever had given or ever could give to any country, but that he could not put allegiance to the government of any country before allegiance to the will of God” . . . and that he believed it “would be positively immoral to give a blanket promise beforehand to support any and every future war in which one’s country might engage, when in the nature of the case it could not be known so far ahead of the time that all such wars would be morally justified.” The applicant also stated that he believed his position would help make for the peace of the world.

Again this year another woman has been denied United States citizenship in the state of Washington upon these grounds. A newspaper item reports her case as follows:

Mrs. Kathryn Erickson, mother of two grown children and a resident here for fifteen years, applied for naturalization. “They asked me if I was willing to bear arms for the United States,” she related. “I asked them if it meant that I might have to join the Army and go over to Europe and shoot people. I couldn’t shoot people. The Bible says ‘Thou shalt not kill.’ Does that mean the Constitution is different than the Bible? I learned all about the Constitution and the government, but they didn’t ask me any of those questions.” Mrs. Erickson, a native of Norway, was denied citizenship. Former State Senator Henry Kyle, a special government attorney, asked others to follow his lead in urging Congressmen to change the citizenship law. “When this oath is required of mothers and grandmothers,” he said, “it becomes not only shameful but ridiculous.”²⁵

Apparently the ruling in the case of this grandmother was administrative only and apparently was not brought before a federal court. Perhaps Question 26 could simply be omitted by executive order from the application blank for “second papers.” The naturalization law does not prescribe it. Perhaps, if the question could be reconsidered apart from the atmosphere of war and in the light of added reasons for reaffirmation of the principle of freedom of opinion, the United States Supreme Court might now reverse itself, as it

²⁵ *New York Herald Tribune*, January 18, 1940.

has upon other important issues. In order adequately to safeguard the freedom of religious and political opinions with respect to war in the naturalization process it is apparently necessary to support the Constitution of the United States with new legislation similar to a certain Griffin Bill²⁶ proposed a few years ago in the Congress, which sought to make clear the eligibility of persons "mentally, morally and otherwise qualified," who might otherwise be debarred from citizenship by reason of his or her religious views or philosophical opinions with respect to the lawfulness of war as a means of settling international disputes." With the United States officially and repeatedly on record, in recent protocols and pacts, there should be no question but that such opinions are in conformity with the expressed position of this country.

4. *Inadequate protection against expatriation.*—Naturalization problems in the community take on international importance likewise in matters of expatriation, which may be by residence abroad, by an oath of allegiance to or military service for another country, or as a result of marriage. Social workers who are anxious for clients to qualify for rights and privileges and benefits are now meeting an increasing number of men and women who are stateless.²⁷ A wife for instance, born in Italy, who marries a citizen of the United States does not at present thereby acquire United States citizenship. Under the laws of her own native country, however, she loses her Italian citizenship. Italy regards her as "American." The United States regards her as Italian. In point of fact she is entirely stateless, with no political rights in any country whatsoever!

When the story of *The Man without a Country* was written of a man dispossessed of all his rights and condemned to perpetual travel upon the seas, he was presented as a figure unique in American life. His unhappy fate, although it was the result of court-martial, awakened so much discussion during the time of Abraham Lincoln that it served to promote the cause of union within the United States. Men and women without a country, whose situation is hardly less unhappy—indeed, may be even more unhappy—than that of the some-

²⁶ H.R. 3547, 71st Congress (1929). This bill did not pass.

²⁷ See Catheryn Seckler Hudson, *Statelessness with Special Reference to the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Digest Press, American University Graduate School, 1934).

what hypothetical figure of Philip Nolan, are here in substantial numbers in contemporary American life. They are not transgressors against the law, however, or the victims of intentional punishment. They suffer the deprivations of statelessness because, in the first place, a world which is international in its human needs has not yet even in citizenship matters become united for mutual aid; and, in the second place, because the United States itself has not provided adequate safeguards in family problems of derivative citizenship or in expatriation.²⁸ The way in which a social agency meets a problem of expatriation through marriage—of virtual statelessness in other words—is illustrated by the citizenship status of a husband and wife whose situation came to light through the canvass of the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners.

AN AMERICAN-BORN ALIEN WIFE—A POLISH-BORN
CITIZEN HUSBAND

The wife was born in Chicago, the husband in Poland. They were married in 1913 and have always lived in Chicago. When challenged under the Illinois Permanent Registration Election law, the wife discovered that she had lost her citizenship and was not a qualified voter in this country. She was surprised and furious. She has never been out of the United States. Since she married a non-citizen in 1913, before the passage of the "Cable Act" of September 22, 1922, she lost her birthright. Her husband became a United States citizen in 1923 after its passage, but that did not reinstate her in her United States citizenship. The Immigrants' Protective League has assisted her in filing an application for a Petition through which she will recover her United States citizenship. The anomalous position in which she has lived for seventeen years is being at last corrected. The vote is an important and precious privilege to her.

It seems incredible that there should be in Chicago as in other cosmopolitan communities now in this country substantial numbers of American-born wives who are aliens with foreign-born husbands who are citizens of the United States, all because of the accident of the dates of certain naturalization acts in relation to the date of marriage. Manifestly, such acts need amendment. The Chicago Board of Election Commissioners has estimated, during this initiation of the operation of the Permanent Registration Election law of Illinois, that there will be found in Chicago alone thousands of American-

²⁸ Edward Everett Hale, *The Man without a Country* (1863). First published in *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1863.

born women who lost their United States citizenship through marriage and have not yet regained that citizenship.

5. *Formality and expense in restoration of United States citizenship for American-born women and in the acquisition of United States citizenship by the wives of United States citizens.*—Such women naturally resent the fact that they must make an application for naturalization, take an examination on their knowledge of civics and government, and pay a five-dollar fee in order to recover their birth-right. The whole restoration process should be simplified. The Cable Act²⁹ has had several amendments but it should have a more complete overhauling. Perhaps it would be more satisfactory to begin all over again! In providing independent citizenship for married women the Cable Act stipulates that "the right of any woman to become a naturalized citizen of the United States shall not be denied or abridged because of her sex, or because she is a married woman." Later sections of the same act so qualify and limit its provisions, however, that this right is both denied and abridged, and both because of her sex and her marriage. There seems to underlie the act an attempt to establish independence for its own sake and an assumption that independent citizenship must necessarily mean separate and different citizenship. There are many more alien wives married to citizen husbands in the United States than there are citizen wives married to alien husbands. The mutual advantages arising out of the same nationality for both husband and wife, on the other hand—the same "civic unity" and "the enjoyment of a common loyalty"—undoubtedly govern in the great majority of cases.³⁰ The act might well have legislated generally for this majority of husbands and wives, providing for the minority who desire to retain or acquire separate nationality such process as must now be followed instead by the majority who wish the same nationality. Like the original act, the recent amendments to the Cable Act have primarily concerned women who were American born or who had otherwise held citizenship in the United States and had perhaps lost it. Very little has been done to relieve the situation of the foreign-born woman with

²⁹ The Cable Act was approved September 22, 1922 (42 Stat. 1021).

³⁰ Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, *Marriage and the Civic Rights of Women*, pp. 21-27, 40-41.

respect to her citizenship in the United States. "She has had independence thrust upon her, but she has not been given equality."³⁰ Her needs in this connection are usually closely bound up with her family.

The old naturalization law (Sec. 1994) had provided that "any woman who is now or may hereafter be married to a citizen of the United States and who might herself be lawfully naturalized, shall be deemed a citizen." Instead of the process set up in the Cable Act it would have been simpler and more practical merely to have added to this old section the phrase, "unless she takes some affirmative act retaining her own citizenship." A new amendment might well incorporate this principle into the act for independent citizenship. Something of this method is partially applied in Section 3 of the Cable Act to a woman citizen of the United States. If her marriage to an alien occurred after the passage of the act she does not lose her citizenship in the United States "unless she makes a formal renunciation of her citizenship before a court having jurisdiction over naturalization of aliens." Such a provision would bring immediate help to the increasing number of women without a country in the United States.

In many states of the Union the widows of United States citizens married since September 22, 1922, who had not become citizens in their own right, would have been spared the struggle to bring up their little children during the last eighteen years without the benefits of mothers' pensions. The question as to whether the shortened processes of the Cable Act apply to a woman whose citizen husband is dead or from whom she is divorced should also be definitely settled by legislative amendment to the Cable Act. This point has been variously interpreted at different times and in different parts of the country.

6. *Race and color as disqualification for United States citizenship.*—Although comparatively few people are disqualified from naturalization upon grounds of religious or political opinion or because of race or color, as compared with the very large numbers who cannot become citizens because of problems of education or entry records, nevertheless the group who are so disqualified are important in quality if not in numbers. Among them is excellent citizen timber.

They feel a natural sense of injustice. Again the naturalization laws have not caught up with the times.

The stipulation that in order to be naturalized in the United States one must be "free white" or "of African nativity" or "of African descent" dates from Civil War days. In fact, the specific inclusion of persons of African nativity or descent is at least in part a result of the Civil War.

Action of the United States with respect to the "red man," even those born in the United States, came very much later. Social workers in communities along the Canadian and Mexican borders, upon Indian reservations, or in the large cities where many Indians now live will find helpful a discussion of *Naturalization and Immigration Provisions Applicable to American Indians*, recently issued by the Foreign Language Information Service.³¹ The discrimination within the United States toward its own American-born "blacks" and "red skins" was brought vividly to the attention of the delegates to the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, who attended the section upon "Children in Minority Groups" in January, 1940. At a point of lively discussion of social discriminations, in a soft and quiet voice, the wife of a very distinguished American Indian, Yale-educated, Dr. Henry Roe Cloud, made the following comment: "As an original American, I want to help out all I can." The citizenship and naturalization situation of American Indians, as suggested in the first part of this study, published in this *Review*, March, 1940, is still, from a social standpoint, legislatively unsatisfactory.

The naturalization and citizenship laws of the United States are at their most unsatisfactory stage, however, with respect to the race or color qualification, when it comes to persons whose skin is black, not African, or yellow.

Filipinos, although wards of the United States ever since the Spanish-American War, are in a particularly disadvantageous position. With respect to the statutes, the only Filipinos who are eligible to naturalization are "native-born Filipinos of the age of twenty-one years or upward," who have served "not less than three years" and

³¹ *Interpreter Release* (New York: Foreign Language Information Service, 222 Fourth Ave., October 24, 1938).

hold honorable discharges from the "United States Navy or Marine Corps or the Naval Auxiliary Service." Inconsistently enough, service in the United States Army does not entitle Filipinos to the same privilege as those who have served in the navy. That statute has, moreover, been specifically construed by the United States Supreme Court which has held that "Filipinos, other than those rendering the service in the United States Navy, Marine Corps or Naval Auxiliary Service specified by the seventh subdivision, are ineligible to naturalization, not being white persons or of African nativity or descent."³² There is pending in this Seventy-sixth Congress a bill³³ introduced by Representative Vito Marcantonio of New York which would "authorize the naturalization of Filipinos who are permanent residents of the United States," which should certainly be supported.

The federal courts have been more kind toward two races that were for a time disqualified from naturalization, namely, Armenian and Assyrian. There are in Chicago as well as in a number of other cities in the United States a small number of these two peoples to whom United States citizenship is very important indeed. It was, for instance, to a certain Assyrian man in Chicago who wished United States citizenship in order to bring his mother to the United States.

AN ASSYRIAN MOTHER

She had suffered during the World War, undergone religious persecution and finally escaped from the Turks under the protection of the Russian Army, and was waiting in the Caucasus to come to her son, a manager for a large chain grocery company in Chicago. He had tried to become a citizen immediately after the World War, before the courts decided that Assyrians are "free white persons," and therefore eligible to citizenship. When that decision was handed down, he was not notified, so that his Declaration expired. He filed again, but then encountered the delay of the two years before he could take out "second papers." As a full citizen, he could apply for a place for his mother on the preference quota from Persia where they had been born. Since Persia's annual quota is only 100, and since the demand for immigration visas from that troubled part of the world was very great, he found that it would be many years before she could hope to reach her number even in the preference quota. She died while waiting for her preference quota number and United States citizenship seemed to her son only irony then.

³² *Hidemitsu Toyota v. United States*, 268 U.S. 402, 410 (1925).

³³ H.R. 7239.

With respect to immigration preferences for parents, husbands, wives, and children of foreign-born residents in the United States, in the interest of the American community, the citizenship qualification should long ago have been stricken out of the United States Immigration laws.

It was a federal court in Illinois which finally decided that Assyrians are eligible and a federal court in Oregon that decided Armenians are racially eligible to naturalization.³⁴ There are perhaps other clients belonging to these races who have not heard of these decisions, so that it becomes important for social workers to know that a judge quoting various authorities in anthropology has "confidently affirmed" that Armenians, for instance, are of "Alpine stock," that they "are white persons and moreover that they readily amalgamate with the European and white races."³⁵

Chinese are doubly barred from naturalization by federal statute not only by Section 2169 but also by the special act of May 6, 1882, with the express prohibition that "hereafter no State court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship, and all laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed."

Other peoples whose skin is yellow or black are barred from naturalization by a high wall of federal decisions. Famous among them is the decision of *Ozawa v. United States*,³⁶ which disqualified Japanese, and the equally well-known *Thind v. United States*,³⁷ which disqualified Hindus.

Social workers in California or other states in which many Orientals are resident will find in Lecture No. 8 of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, March 26, 1934, a comprehensive, well-documented statement as to "Naturalization Requirements concerning Race, Education, Residence, Good Moral Character, and Attachment to the Constitution."

These naturalization prohibitions against persons not "free white

³⁴ *United States v. Shumil David*, U.S. District Court, Northern District Illinois, 1925, Docket No. 3875.

³⁵ *United States v. Talos Osighan Cartosian*, 6 F. (2d) 919 (1925).

³⁶ 260 U.S. 178, 192 (1922).

³⁷ 261 U.S. 204 (1923).

nor of African nativity or descent" work a special hardship against women. The Cable Act of September 22, 1922, originally provided that a woman citizen who married an alien ineligible to citizenship should cease to be a citizen of the United States and also that during the continuance of the marital status no woman might be naturalized who was married to an ineligible. The act violated what would seem to have been axiomatic—that if unmarried a woman was personally eligible to naturalization, she should be personally eligible though married. The amendment of March 3, 1931, to the Cable Act restored to eligibility a woman who had "lost her United States citizenship . . . by marriage to an alien ineligible to citizenship." This eligibility was not extended, however, to a wife who had not previously been a citizen of the United States. Therefore, women who are racially eligible to citizenship are made ineligible by marriages to ineligible. This is a discrimination which does not exist for husbands who marry ineligible. This disqualification should be removed primarily, however, for the reasons which apply in general to racial disqualifications.

In these old statutes, as is seen, color of skin rather than personal character was made a qualification. There are now in the United States many exceptional men and women who are making this country their home and who are making notable contributions to its literature, education, art, music, science, and business and trade but who are not able to become naturalized because they are Chinese, Japanese, Hindu, Korean, or of some other race which is ineligible. Unless the general statute is amended in the interest of international understanding and good will, persons of the races indicated have left to them only the device of a special bill in the Congress as is now pending in behalf of Professor Younghill Kang, a distinguished Korean, author in English of *The Grass Roof* and *East Goes West*. It would be to the interest not only of these individuals but to the United States itself to remove this discrimination and to let them become truly adjusted in the community.

7. *The high cost of naturalization.*—In point of great numbers, the naturalization obstacle which vies with entry records in keeping so many men and women from becoming citizens of the United States is the excessive fees. Because so many questions are asked by other

social agencies as to the amounts of the fees, the following schedule has been summarized from the various amendments.

NATURALIZATION FEES

Naturalization Document	Fees Prior to March 2, 1929	Fees, March 2, 1929, to April 19, 1934	Fees, April 19, 1934, to Present Time
Declaration of Intention.....	\$1.00	\$ 5.00	\$ 2.50
Certificate of Arrival.....		5.00	2.50
Petition and Naturalization Certificate.....	4.00	10.00	5.00
Certificate of Registry.....		20.00	10.00
Certificate of Derivate Citizenship.....		10.00	5.00
Certificate of Repatriation.....		1.00 (June 21, 1930)	1.00
Certificate of Recognition.....		10.00	5.00
Duplicate of lost naturalization paper.....		10.00	1.00

This schedule of fees does not mean that everyone must pay a total of all the fees listed. The cost of naturalization for a given individual depends upon the parts of the process required of him or her. But the various fees to the government, some of them redundant, do not represent the entire costs of naturalization to the applicant. The various processes may involve such incidental costs as witnesses' fees and expenses or "treats," loss of work and pay, transportation sometimes from town to city, often upon repeated trips; documents of various kinds relating to residence; payment for lessons in English and citizenship if no free instruction is available.

It seems incredible that there could have been such a high fees' bill as that of the amendment of March 2, 1929, when the cost was increased from five dollars to twenty dollars—an increase of 300 per cent at the beginning of the depression! The arguments used by congressmen—"other countries charge more," "the applicant thinks more of that for which he pays more," "everything is going up why not naturalization fees"—seem empty indeed in view of the economic experience that followed.

The effect upon the flow of naturalization was striking. Instead of substantial increases from year to year the numbers seeking United States citizenship "took a plunge," as will be seen from the ac-

companying comparison of the "Papers" filed in the year following this amendment.³⁸

Year	Declarations	Petitions	Certificates
1929.....	280,645	254,799	224,197
1930.....	62,138	111,209	167,637

Although the new fees did not constitute the only reason for the falling-off of business for the United States Naturalization Service, it is believed that they represent the most significant reason for the commissioner's statement in June, 1930, that the "number of naturalization papers filed . . . was the smallest in the history of the naturalization law." The figures in the large Chicago district are equally striking:

Year	Declarations	Petitions	Certificates
1929.....	31,503	28,996	25,391
1930.....	7,060	13,796	18,909

This comparison represents decreases of more than 75 per cent in declarations, 50 per cent in petitions, and 25 per cent in certificates in the Chicago district. Such facts should be remembered when people are blamed now for their lack of United States citizenship. Congress itself prevented the very assimilation for which there was widespread pressure in the United States in the years following the World War.

Great numbers of pathetic foreign-born men and women have come to the attention of the Immigrants' Protective League who wish more than anything else in their lives to become citizens of the United States. They have walked to the office for naturalization advice from miles away in Chicago to save the seven cents in carfare. They have denied themselves warm clothing. Single men in shelters have invested the entire relief-food ration for a whole week—at one time \$2.50—which exactly equaled the fee to "start their naturalization" in an application instead of in food. One thin man probably spoke for many others when he said he "would manage to live some way." A long petition of names of Polish men and women on the Northwest Side was brought in one day, begging that naturalization in some way be made less expensive so that they could become part of this country in which they were so proud to be able to live.

³⁸ *Annual Reports, Commissioner of Naturalization, U.S. Department of Labor.*

The enormous increase in fees in 1929 was all the more unjust in view of the excessive surplus in the naturalization fund. The United States had collected from fees far more than it expended in administering the naturalization law. During the four years preceding the increase the "excess of net receipts as compared with cost of administering the naturalization law" was as follows:

Year	Excess
1926.....	\$ 48,623.68
1927.....	248,032.50
1928.....	260,234.97
1929.....	192,911.88

During the years following the increase in fees, the excess itself increased over even the previous period:

Year	Excess
1930.....	\$1,648,101.71
1931.....	1,981,033.63
1932.....	1,657,513.29

For the whole period subsequent to the general Naturalization Act of 1906 the net excess was \$6,385,575!

The movement for reduction of fees³⁹ was greatly aided by Colonel Daniel W. MacCormack when he came into office as United States Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization by such statements as the following in a speech in March, 1934: "The grant of citizenship is not a commodity to be cheapened by the application of the old railroad traffic rule of charging what the traffic will bear." In urging the necessity of reducing fees, the Immigrants' Protective League pointed out to members of the Congress, to the sympathetic Immigration and Naturalization Service, and to the public upon every possible occasion the following reasons: (1) the naturalization applicant more than paid his own way, even before the increase in fees; (2) to exact revenue from him before he has become a citizen amounts to "taxation without representation"; (3) the high fees have made the cost of naturalization prohibitive and have defeated the aim of the country for the assimilation of its foreign-born residents. Therefore, fees should be reduced to their predepression level. Action by the Congress resulted in the amendment of April 19, 1934,

³⁹ See "A Study of the Effect of High Fees upon the Naturalization of Aliens in the United States," in *Handicaps in Naturalization* (New York: National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship, 1932).

but the fees were not reduced to their predepression level. The damage has been done. The least that could be done by the Congress would be to remit fees entirely for a five-year equivalent of the five years of highest fees. The present costs are for large numbers of men and women way beyond the individual's capacity to pay.

V. SUMMARY OF LEADING NATURALIZATION OBSTACLES

These naturalization difficulties may be summarized under the following problems:

1. Color and race—not "free white nor of African nativity or descent"
2. Religious or political views regarding war
3. Naturalization of veterans of the World War
4. Renunciation of allegiance to the wrong "foreign prince, potentate, sovereign or ruler"
5. Proof of date, place, and manner of entry
6. Rigidity as to the "continuous" and the "permanent" aspects of residence requirements
7. Inadequate safeguards from expatriation
8. Formality and expense in restoration of United States citizenship and in the acquisition of United States citizenship by the wives of citizens
9. Educational tests in the examination
10. An arbitrary statute of limitation upon the Declaration of Intention; obsolescence of the Declaration of Intention
11. High naturalization fees

Certain steps have already been taken during the present Congress to simplify clumsy processes. Other steps could be taken within the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service itself. Many more changes should be made without further delay by the Congress.

VI. RECOMMENDATION FOR LEGISLATIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE REMEDIES TO FACILITATE NATURALIZATION

Naturalization obstacles lead straight toward their remedies. Recommendations which, if carried out by legislation and by administrative policies, would facilitate naturalization are such as the following:

1. Removal of racial and color discriminations as to eligibility
2. Amendment of the Cable Act so as to omit the discrimination against foreign-born wives married to "ineligibles"
3. Re-enactment without statute of limitation of the special privileges for World War Veterans

4. Amendment to clarify the eligibility of persons "mentally, morally, and otherwise qualified," who might otherwise be "debarred from citizenship by reason of religious views or philosophical opinions with respect to the lawfulness of war as a means of settling international disputes"
5. Extension of the legalization of entry privilege (*nunc pro tunc*) regardless of date of entry
6. Provision for some flexibility as to the "continuous" and as to the "permanent" aspect of the residence requirement
7. Adequate legislative protection against expatriation
8. Amendment of the Cable Act so as to accord United States citizenship to wives whose husbands are citizens, unless they, by affirmative act, express their desire to retain their own previous citizenship
9. Removal of the seven-year statute of limitation for the Declaration of Intention
10. Elimination of the Declaration of Intention for additional groups of applicants
11. Correlation of educational examinations with the adult educational facilities in the various communities of the United States
12. Remission of naturalization fees for five years to compensate for the highest fee period; then reduction of naturalization fees to their predepression level

VII. THE PROPOSED NEW NATURALIZATION CODE

That the laws of nativity naturalization and citizenship of the United States are seriously in need of revision is well known to the federal departments that administer them, to the President of the United States, to some of the members of the Congress, and to everyone who has had experience in helping men and women to become citizens of the United States. It is almost as if the settlers of America were facing another King George as in the days when the Declaration of Independence submitted its reasons for the American Revolution to a candid world and charged the king of Great Britain with having "endeavored to prevent the population of these states, for that purpose obstructing the laws of naturalization of foreigners and refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither."

The obstruction at the present time is, however, more a matter of negligence than of any wilful placing of obstacles in the path to naturalization. It is a field of federal legislation in which amendment has been heaped upon amendment until the pyramid is unwieldy. "Topsy legislation" it has been called. If not careless legislation, it is at least fair to diligent congressmen to say that legislation as to naturalization and citizenship is often inadequately con-

sidered legislation. During the last few years, however, it has been a matter of specific study by an interdepartmental committee at Washington which invited and secured the views of social workers, teachers, lawyers, and judges with respect to needed changes.

Under President Roosevelt's executive order of April 25, 1933, the Secretary of State, the Attorney-General, and the Secretary of Labor were designated as a "Committee to review the nationality laws of the United States to recommend revisions and to codify the laws into one comprehensive nationality law for submission to the Congress." Their *Report* was presented to the President on June 1, 1938, and is available from the Government Printing Office under the title *Codification of the Nationality Laws of the United States: A Report Proposing a Revision and Codification of the Nationality Laws of the United States*, Parts I, II, III. Part I presents the "Proposed Code with Explanatory Comments"; Part II, a "Comparative Print of the Text of the Proposed and Present Nationality Laws"; Part III, "Existing Constitutional, Statutory, and Treaty Provisions at Present in Force." It is an excellent reference text, due especially to the scholarly work of Mr. Henry B. Hazard of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service; to that of Mr. Richard Flournoy, solicitor, United States Department of State, an outstanding authority upon international aspects of citizenship; and to Miss Katharine Lenroot, chief of the United States Children's Bureau, alert to the effect of naturalization provisions upon child welfare.

Pursuantly, "A Bill To Revise and Codify the Nationality Laws of the United States into a Comprehensive Nationality Code," H.R. 6127, was introduced into the First Session of the Seventy-sixth Congress on May 3, 1939, by the chairman of the House of Representatives Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, Mr. Samuel Dickstein, of New York City. Just how necessary such a new code has become is indicated in the *Summary of Proposed Changes in the Naturalization Laws*.⁴⁰ Six important principles with respect to legislative changes are stated as "General Objects" as follows:

1. Consolidation and rearrangement of the naturalization laws into orderly and systematic form, comprehended within a single chapter

⁴⁰ Part I of the proposed code, pp. 63-65.

2. Grouping together of substantive provisions, procedural and administrative provisions, fiscal provisions, and penal provisions
3. Elimination, as far as practicable, of discriminatory provisions
4. Omission, by repeal, of obsolete, conflicting, unnecessary, and undesirable provisions
5. Removal, as far as possible, of causes for differing opinions on the part of the naturalization courts in the construction of the naturalization laws, thereby more nearly approximating the required constitutional uniformity
6. Inclusion of salutary provisions for the more prompt, expeditious, economical and satisfactory administration of the naturalization laws

Under the title "Specific Changes," thirty-five recommendations are made. They are very modest, not at all as sweeping as the needs suggested by the "General Objects" above stated. At least four of them would seem to set up new bars to naturalization. Two would increase fees as follows:

30. Change of fee for registration of an alien from \$10.00 to \$18.00 representing the equivalent of the cost of an immigration visa and immigration head tax [sec. 341 (b)(1)].

31. Authorization of reasonable fees (with maximum fixed), where not established by law, for furnishing, other than to officials or agencies of the Federal Government, copies or information from the records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service [sec. 341 (b)(9)].

Two other recommendations (6 and 7) would restrict the present rights of derivative citizenship for the children of United States citizens. Many of the recommendations merely concern terminology and are in the interest of more explicit and definite form in the naturalization statutes but are not consequential from a social standpoint.

There are recommended, however, certain new protections against expatriation; several which slightly simplify residence requirements; a recommendation as to "prescribing a uniform type of examination of petitioners for naturalization" which might result in improved practices; a number of recommendations setting up punitive provisions for fraud in connection with naturalization; a number which would improve record and filing systems, and some variety as to other minor changes. There would be some value the country over if Recommendation 17 were incorporated into naturalization law:

Extension of the authority, already granted in New York City, to use quarters in Government buildings for photographic studios to be operated by welfare

organizations, without profit, solely for the benefit of aliens seeking naturalization as a means of eliminating exploitation of aliens [sec. 326 (h)].

Perhaps the most forward-looking is Recommendation 19:

Elimination of the requirement that a declaration of intention to become a citizen must be used within 7 years as the basis for a petition for naturalization [sec. 330].

The suggested rearrangement as to legal provisions and administrative systems would undoubtedly improve the *status quo*. There is, however, no major operation in the whole set of recommendations. The naturalization law and processes have become something of an octopus and at a time when naturalization and United States citizenship were never more needed than now. The octopus needs a number of "major operations" along the lines described in this present analysis of the naturalization situation. Legislation in naturalization and citizenship is enacted without sufficient information at hand for congressmen and is too far away from the scene of the men and women whose actual food and shelter may depend upon it. It becomes therefore the solemn obligation of social workers and everyone concerned with the welfare of the community to make known the human need for, and the human effect of, proposals for congressional changes in the laws of naturalization and citizenship. For upon their terms now depends, as above detailed, the rights of livelihood, of political participation in the democracy, of protection in travel, or of social security. Unless it is possible to extend those rights freely to those who live within the United States, this country will ill deserve its place among the nations. The United States is strong only when its laws do not oppress the weak. One's allegiance to it, inspired by the "Articles" that set this country free, is measured by the extent to which the good life is accorded without discrimination to those within its borders. In the words of an immigration student, British by birth, German by blood, who wanted to be a citizen of the United States but who reconciled his immigration status by leaving Chicago to teach in a Canadian University:

Ubi bene, ibi patria—

Where life is well, there is my homeland.

IMMIGRANTS' PROTECTIVE LEAGUE
CHICAGO

RELIEF IN ILLINOIS WITHOUT FEDERAL AID¹

ARTHUR P. MILES

A REVIEW of the administration of relief in Illinois since the Federal Emergency Relief Administration² period gives some indication of present administrative problems and some evidence as to what extent the standards of relief and personnel and uniformity of administration established by the F.E.R.A. have been retained. Prior to 1932 the administration of relief was entirely the responsibility of the local authorities, with the state first appearing in the relief picture in February, 1932; after four years of federal grants (1932-35) responsibility was returned to the state and local authorities. Since this is true not only in Illinois but also in the other states and since the general assistance program is a long-time one, such a review should make available information which might facilitate public assistance planning.

The new period began July 1, 1936, when Illinois adopted measures calculated to shift at least part of the financial burden of relief to the local subdivisions of the state. These laws³ transferred responsibility for relief to the 1,455 local governmental units—1,407 townships, 17 counties not under township organization downstate, and, in Cook County, the city of Chicago and 30 townships outside the city. The determination of eligibility and of the amount of relief to be granted became the responsibility solely of these local units.

Adequacy of local funds for relief varied from locality to locality. However, for the state as a whole funds provided were inadequate, and the state, which agreed to bear the residual financial burden

¹ This article, which covers the period from July 1, 1936, to November 1, 1939, is chap. vi in a study of "Federal Grants-in-Aid to Illinois for Unemployment Relief and Public Assistance." It is preceded in the study by discussions of the administration of R.F.C. and F.E.R.A. relief grants to Illinois.

² Hereafter referred to as the F.E.R.A.

³ *Laws of Illinois, Fifty-ninth General Assembly, First Special Session, 1936*, pp. 127-28.

up to the amounts which were appropriated for monthly allocation, was still largely responsible for the financing of general assistance. To become eligible for state aid, after November 1, 1936, the local units were required to levy annually a poor relief tax of three mills on each dollar of taxable property. The state thus introduced a state grant-in-aid program for relief, but not a vestige of administrative responsibility was allocated to the state agency. The Illinois Emergency Relief Commission⁴ was retained but was limited by law to two functions: (1) to determine the monthly relief needs of the local units and so to certify to the state auditor of public accounts and (2) to serve, with the consent of the governor, as the agent of the federal government for the distribution of "surplus commodities" and as the certification agent for federal programs such as the W.P.A., the N.Y.A., and the C.C.C.⁵

The laws under which the Commission operated were changed frequently, resulting in an erratic system of allocating state relief funds to the localities. During the months of July, August, and September, 1936, and again for the months of August, 1937, through June, 1938, allocation of state funds to local units for relief was based upon "net needs." On this basis, the I.E.R.C. simply certified to the state auditor the total relief needs of the respective units less the local funds that could be available. From October, 1936, through July, 1937, the "gross needs" basis was in effect, and state funds were allocated to local units on the basis of the total relief needs irrespective of local funds available.⁶

All local units were thus eligible for state aid for relief for July, August, and September, 1936. Some units were not certified for state funds as the Commission determined that local resources were sufficient to meet their relief needs. During October, 1936, all units were still eligible on the basis of "gross needs"; the 79 units not certified were considered to have no relief requirements that could not be met from local funds.

State funds, as of November 1, 1936, were to be allocated only

⁴ Hereafter referred to as the Commission or the I.E.R.C.

⁵ *I.E.R.C. Biennial Report Covering the Period July 1, 1936, through June 30, 1938* (hereafter referred to as *I.E.R.C. Second Biennial Report*), pp. 21-22.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

to those local governmental units that had made poor relief levies of three mills on each dollar of the taxable property therein. In the seventeen commission counties, which, like all other counties, have a 75-cent constitutional tax rate limit on taxes for all purposes unless a higher rate is authorized by referendum vote of the people, a three-mill levy (30 cents per \$100 of assessed property valuation) was required by the law; but extension of the full rate was not obligatory if the total tax was above 75 cents.⁷ If the total levy would be more than 75 cents, the attorney-general had ruled that all levies must be scaled down proportionately to bring the total rate within the 75-cent limit before taxes were extended.⁸ If the locality had raised the three-mill levy, state grants were made at the discretion of the Commission.

An amendment to the relief laws, effective July 1, 1937, included a formula for making the state grants. It specified that the amount of state funds to be allotted local units each month was to be determined "by deducting from the total amount necessary monthly for relief of needy persons in the governmental units the sum obtained by dividing seventy-five per cent (75%) of the available resources for relief purposes of such units including the current year's levy for relief purposes by the number of months from the date of such allocation to the end of the period authorized for making the next tax levy or by twelve, whichever is the lesser."⁹ In accordance with this amendment the eligible units, beginning August, 1937, were certified on the basis of "net needs." In order to approximate intelligently the relief needs of the local units, complete information on poor relief levies made, poor relief taxes extended and collected, and obligations for relief was required by the Commission. Certified statements from the county clerks as to this information were secured.

The general property tax thus once again became the financial bulwark of the general assistance program in Illinois. Property-tax extensions of poor relief levies made by local governmental units

⁷ *Laws of Illinois, Sixtieth General Assembly, 1937*, pp. 278-79.

⁸ *Illinois Attorney-General's Opinions, 1937*, pp. 247-50.

⁹ *Laws of Illinois, Sixtieth General Assembly, 1937*, pp. 275-78.

totaled \$13,579,392 in 1936, and \$13,986,001 in 1937, and the taxes for 1938 were \$13,668,195.¹⁰

The administration of the program was throttled by limitations on administrative expenditures. During July, 1936, state funds were limited exclusively to relief, administrative funds being furnished by the local units. In August the General Assembly amended the law so that 5 per cent of the total money raised or received outside Chicago and 8 per cent for the city of Chicago could be used for administrative purposes.¹¹ This remained in effect until May, 1938, when the legislature finally became convinced that more money was desirable for administrative purposes. Thereafter administrative costs were limited to 10 per cent per year instead of the 5 or 8 per cent per month.

State funds were made available monthly, upon application to the I.E.R.C. by the county boards of supervisors under township organization and the county boards of commissioners in counties not so organized. As we have noted, the I.E.R.C. took into consideration estimates of local needs for relief funds and, except from October 1, 1936, through July, 1937, the local resources available for meeting the needs. After certification to the state auditor of public accounts the money was paid to the respective county treasurers, and the auditor apportioned it to the local units according to the amounts certified.¹²

After July 1, 1936, state funds for relief were made available at the rate of \$2,000,000 per month from a \$14,000,000 appropriation.¹³ This amount was substantially less than had been appropriated for use in the months immediately preceding. Additional local funds, except for possible balances from unused poor relief levies, were not immediately forthcoming. The state appropriation proved so inadequate that it was increased twice—finally to \$32,000,000—before January 1, 1937.

¹⁰ *I.E.R.C. Second Biennial Report*, Tables 11, 12, and 13, Appendix.

¹¹ *Laws of Illinois, Fifty-ninth General Assembly, Second Special Session, 1936*, pp. 20-23.

¹² *I.E.R.C. Second Biennial Report*, p. 27.

¹³ *Laws of Illinois, Fifty-ninth General Assembly, Second Special Session, 1936*, pp. 16-19.

The legislature meeting in regular and special sessions in 1936, 1937, 1938, and 1939 continued to pass numerous laws and amendments regulating relief financing. The lack of planning is evident in repeatedly inadequate appropriations and in the numerous extensions of the 3 per cent tax on public utilities and retail sales. The General Assembly, meeting in a special session in August, 1936, amended the relief laws by increasing the annual appropriation from fourteen to twenty million dollars, three million to be available each month after August 1; and extended to August 31, 1936, the time during which townships might make poor relief levies in order to qualify for aid.¹⁴

The General Assembly, meeting the following months, passed relief laws which (1) provided for an extension of the period for making local poor relief levies from August 31 to November 1, 1936; (2) changed from September 30 to November 1, 1936, the date after which local relief units would not be eligible to receive state funds for relief purposes unless they had made a three-mill levy; (3) provided for allocation of funds by the Commission on the basis of "gross needs"; and (4) endeavored to prevent double taxation by authorizing county boards to detach township territory lying within any city, village, or incorporated town when both units were charged with the duty of providing poor relief.¹⁵

Additional laws relating to relief were passed by the second special session of the Fifty-ninth General Assembly, meeting in December, 1936. The sales tax of 3 per cent was continued until May 1, 1937; one-third of its revenues to be paid to the Emergency Relief Fund.¹⁶ The public utility tax was likewise extended until May 1, 1937. Beginning May 1, 1937, the rate of this tax was to be reduced from 3 to 2 per cent, all of which was to go to the Emergency Relief Fund. The state relief appropriation was increased from \$20,000,000 to \$32,000,000, to be expended at a maximum rate of \$3,000,000 per month.¹⁷ The legislature also provided for a transfer of funds from the general revenues if the monthly allocations were insufficient.¹⁸ The expiration of the I.E.R.C. was postponed until July 1, 1937.¹⁹

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-16.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-29.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-84.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-29.

The Sixtieth General Assembly, meeting in regular session during 1937, passed several laws relating to relief. The public utility tax of 3 per cent on gross receipts was continued until July 1, 1938, the rate to be 2 per cent after that time.²⁰ The sales tax was likewise continued at the 3 per cent rate until February 15, 1939, when it was to be reduced to 2 per cent.²¹ The legislature extended until March 15, 1939, the provision relating to the transfer of funds from the general revenues for relief.²² The end of the I.E.R.C. was again postponed, and the organization of a permanent state public assistance authority was not to occur until July 1, 1939.²³ The legislature made for the first time a regular biennial appropriation for relief—\$70,000,000, to be expended at a rate not to exceed \$2,900,000 per month.²⁴ A possible work-for-relief program was contemplated when the legislature passed a bill requiring the overseers of the poor to submit lists of employable relief clients to the city road and street commissioners and permitted the relief clients to be employed on public road work.²⁵

The first and second special sessions of the Sixtieth General Assembly, meeting in May and June, 1938, enacted laws relating to relief which gave to the I.E.R.C. additional authority over local relief units. It was at this time also that the legislature increased the administrative costs from a monthly basis of 5 per cent downstate and 8 per cent in the city of Chicago to 10 per cent per year throughout the state.²⁶

A law was also passed that subjected the local relief units to the supervision of the I.E.R.C. It provided that local administration was to be in accord with rules and regulations issued by the Commission; that every local unit not abiding by such rules and regulations would have funds withheld.²⁷ This finally granted the Commission some real control over the local relief units which had long been desired and now was advantageously utilized by the I.E.R.C.

²⁰ *Laws of Illinois, Sixtieth General Assembly, 1937*, pp. 1052-57.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1058-60.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 274-75.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 275-78.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 987.

²⁶ *Laws of Illinois, Sixtieth General Assembly, First Special Session, 1938*, pp. 8-11.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-7.

Additional funds were still needed, and the \$70,000,000 was supplemented by \$4,500,000 to be spent at the rate of not more than \$500,000 per month, beginning with May, 1938. In June an added \$2,800,000, to be spent at the maximum rate of \$100,000 per month, was made available.²⁸ The Motor Fuel Act was amended to provide \$2,500,000 for Chicago to be used for poor relief during the period July 1, 1938, to February 1, 1939.²⁹ Furthermore, the public utility tax was extended until July 1, 1939, at the 3 per cent rate.³⁰

The Sixty-first General Assembly, meeting in its regular session during 1939, passed six acts relating to general assistance. These acts merely provided for a continuation of the unco-ordinated and confused relief picture in the state of Illinois.

An act approved by the governor on July 19, 1939, authorized the issuance of bonds by the localities for the purpose of paying indebtedness incurred prior to April 1, 1939, in providing for the relief of the poor in any township.³¹ This act, like all others relating to relief, was "an act to revise the law in relation to paupers," which was approved March 23, 1874. This new act was passed to enable those townships that had no available poor relief resources to pay prior indebtedness by means of the proposed bond issue.

Relief financing, erratic though it was, continued to be the chief relief topic during the Sixty-first General Assembly. The sales tax (legally referred to as the "Retailers Occupational Tax") was continued at the 3 per cent rate until July 1, 1941. The optimism of the legislators was expressed in the usual way—the tax rate was to be 2 per cent thereafter.³² The Public Utility Tax of 3 per cent on gross retail sales was likewise continued until July 1, 1941. An optimistic note, as usual, was also included in this law—the tax rate was to be 2 per cent after June 30, 1941.³³

From these and other sources there was appropriated to the Emergency Relief Fund, according to a law approved June 30, 1939, the sum of \$70,200,000. This was to be allocated by the Commission

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁹ *Laws of Illinois, Sixtieth General Assembly, Second Special Session, 1938*, p. 2.

³⁰ *Laws of Illinois, Sixtieth General Assembly, First Special Session, 1938*, pp. 68-69.

³¹ House Bill No. 1022, Sixty-first General Assembly, 1939.

³² Senate Bill No. 304, Sixty-first General Assembly, 1939.

³³ *Ibid.*, No. 305.

to the local units at a rate not to exceed \$3,000,000 per month. An additional appropriation of \$1,800,000 for administrative purposes was also made.³⁴

Additional supervisory authority has slowly been delegated by the legislature to the I.E.R.C. A law approved June 30, 1939, granted some extensions to the Commission's supervisory authority. Among the provisions of this law were the following: (1) the Commission, with the consent of the governor, might use state funds to develop work projects in co-operation with state and federal agencies; (2) whenever the administration of relief in any governmental unit was wholly or partly paid out of state funds, the I.E.R.C. might prescribe regulations for the use and expenditure of all funds, including local resources, for such relief; (3) power was given to the I.E.R.C. to have the local units grant assistance according to a uniform budget, the Commission to supervise the setting-up of the standards; and (4) the Commission was required when making allocations to the local units to prorate available local funds on a monthly basis.³⁵

The governor allowed a law extending legal residence for relief from one to three years to become law without his signature.³⁶ Illinois was merely copying the pattern adopted by many another state, including its neighbor, Indiana, in passing such a piece of legislation, although it has been apparent since the days of Adam Smith that residence laws create more serious economic difficulties than they rectify.³⁷

³⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 308.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 309.

³⁶ An opinion of the attorney-general mystified the meaning of the "three-year residence law." The I.E.R.C. did not attempt to interpret the opinion of the attorney-general but merely forwarded, without comment, copies of the opinion to the local relief authorities ("I.E.R.C. Official Memorandum," dated August 31, 1939). The actual administration of the three-year residence law may, therefore, differ throughout the state. The Chicago Relief Administration, however, has interpreted the law to mean that in order to be eligible for assistance a person (1) must have resided within the city for three consecutive years or (2) must have been receiving relief on July 26, 1939. See Chicago Relief Administration, "Official Bulletin No. 1123," dated November 1, 1939 (mimeographed).

³⁷ "The very unequal price of labour which we frequently find in England in places at no great distance from one another, is probably owing to the obstruction which the law of settlements gives to a poor man who would carry his industry from one parish to another without a certificate. . . . Though men of reflection too have sometimes

Perhaps the relief "floater" has become a serious depression problem. It may be true that Chicago is the recipient of many sharecroppers who have been attracted to the city by the relatively high relief standards. To claim that these problems, however, can be cured by imposing "trade barriers" in the form of excessive residence requirements for relief is absurd.³⁸ Since the demise of the F.E.R.A. harsh residence requirements have been like an infectious disease; and the remedy clearly indicated is a return to federal grants-in-aid for relief, with national standards and national service for a national problem.

The question may now be asked: "What has been the effect of turning the administration of relief back to local officials in the state of Illinois?" Although it is difficult to assess the relative adequacy of relief because of the absence of state-wide budget studies, it should be pointed out that there has been a precipitous lowering of average relief grants. The average monthly relief grant for the entire state for the year ending June 30, 1935, was \$30.66, the average for Cook County was \$38.65, and the downstate average was \$23.34.³⁹ But from 1936 to 1938 the average relief grant for the entire state was \$23.63, for Cook County \$28.62, and for downstate \$17.73. Averages for the biennium 1936-38, however, are of little significance because of the constant fluctuations caused by the changing relief policies and the inadequate appropriations. In July, 1936, average relief per case for the entire state was \$15.70, but by December it had been increased to \$28.33. It decreased to \$26.50 the following month, and by December, 1937, it had dropped to \$20.85.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, local control of the administration of relief has resulted in a decrease in average relief grants.

complained of the law of settlements as a public grievance; yet it has never been the object of any general popular clamour, such as that against general warrants, an abusive practice undoubtedly, but such a one as was not likely to occasion any general oppression. There is scarce a poor man in England of forty years of age, I will venture to say, who has not in some part of his life felt himself most cruelly oppressed by this ill-contrived law of settlements" (Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* [Cannan ed.], Book I, pp. 140-41).

³⁸ "Serfs on Relief," an editorial in the *Chicago Daily News*, July 31, 1939.

³⁹ I.E.R.C. *First Biennial Report*, p. 95.

⁴⁰ I.E.R.C. *Second Biennial Report*, p. 69.

It was apparant before it was appropriated that the \$3,900,000 available for monthly relief spending was inadequate, and the lowered relief grants have resulted in actual starvation. The director of the Family Service Division of the Chicago Relief Administration⁴¹ declared that social workers have been "witnessing children starve,"⁴² and physicians have diagnosed patients who are relief clients as suffering from "slow but persistent starvation."⁴³

Relief in Chicago is granted in cash, but in the downstate jurisdictions over 90 per cent is issued as disbursing orders, often limited to food. Choice of vendor, by Commission decree, is granted, but it is often restricted to "home-owned stores." Representatives of the Commission have estimated that downstate relief budgets approximate adequacy in less than one-third of the cases.⁴⁴

The administration of relief has obviously resulted in a deteriorated service since the withdrawal of federal aid. The local relief dispensing units, at least those which have been subjected to Commission review, generally present this picture: (1) basic case records are lacking; (2) the local administrative units possess no systematic office procedure; (3) they frequently duplicate the service of other agencies; (4) they do not make full use of provisions for referring employable persons to the Employment Service and the various federal work programs; and (5) they do not take into account many assets, such as adjustable insurance policies, legal claims, income from employable members of the family, etc.⁴⁵

While often those who greatly need aid are granted insufficient relief, many local relief units are inadequately measuring eligibility, and those are relieved who are not in need. It was found, for example, in Cunningham Township, Champaign County, that 63.1 per cent of those on relief were not in need of assistance.⁴⁶ In a

⁴¹ Mrs. Clara Paul Paige.

⁴² *Chicago Daily News*, August 3, 1939.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, August 9, 1939.

⁴⁴ "Budgetary Standards and Practices in Illinois during October, 1938" (mimeographed by the Commission, 1939), p. 11.

⁴⁵ "Final Summary of Case Load Review Made on Request of Local Relief Authorities" (mimeographed by the Commission, dated May 31, 1938).

⁴⁶ "Review of Case Load and Intake Applications—Cunningham Township, Champaign County" (mimeographed by the Commission, dated March 30, 1939).

sample of 10 per cent of the total cases in the city of Bloomington only 41.7 per cent of the cases were found to be currently eligible for assistance.⁴⁷ Only 39 per cent of the cases in Paris Township, Edgar County, were found to be eligible for continued relief at the time of the review.⁴⁸ Twenty-seven of the 99 cases studied in the sample reviewed in Freeport Township, Stephenson County, were found to be ineligible for actual relief,⁴⁹ and 69.9 per cent of the cases reviewed in Marshall Township, Clark County, were found not to be in need of assistance.⁵⁰ Even in Williamson County, one of the state's areas of severe economic distress, 18.7 per cent of the cases studied by the review staff were rejected as ineligible.⁵¹

The relief offices are ineffectively and inefficiently administered in many downstate areas. In 1939 the Kankakee Township relief office (city of Kankakee, Kankakee County) was operated by the township supervisor with the assistance of four employees. One of the employees presumably served in the capacity of relief administrator, although his duties were not clearly defined. Two of the employees remained at all times in the office, while a third was a "field investigator." None of the employees had previous relief experience; one was a barber, two were precinct committeemen, and the other a clerk. There was no differentiation of function among the employees. Workers were never assigned to specific cases, and frequent reversals of decisions as to the needs of the relief clients consequently resulted.⁵²

⁴⁷ "Review of the Administrative Policies and Relief Control Facilities in the Town of the City of Bloomington" (mimeographed by the Commission, dated June 15, 1939).

⁴⁸ Review of Relief Case Load and Administrative Policies and Practices in Paris Township, Edgar County" (mimeographed by the Commission, dated May 31, 1939).

⁴⁹ "Review of Administrative Policies and Relief Control Facilities in Freeport Township, Stephenson County" (mimeographed by the Commission, dated May 11, 1939).

⁵⁰ "Status of Local Relief Administration in Marshall Township, Clark County" (mimeographed by the Commission, dated April 28, 1939).

⁵¹ "Review of Administrative Policies and Relief Control Facilities and Examination of the Case Load and Intake Applications, Williamson County" (mimeographed by the Commission, dated August 11, 1939).

⁵² "Review of Administrative Policies and Relief Control Facilities in Kankakee Township, Kankakee County" (mimeographed by the Commission, dated April 28, 1939).

In Kewanee Township (city of Kewanee, Henry County) the township supervisor was assisted in his duties by two full-time employees and one N.Y.A. worker. There was no evidence of administrative authority in the office, the various employees doing all types of work from case investigations to bookkeeping. The township had neither defined standards of eligibility nor methods of handling relief applications. Applicants were generally given a brief interview at the time of application. Occasionally verification of employment was made and noted on the "Relief Record Card," otherwise no case records were kept.⁵³

A review of local relief units is undertaken by the I.E.R.C. staff only at the request of the local units themselves. Hence these samples may or may not be representative. It must be admitted, however, that, generally speaking, the administration of relief, as illustrated by the Commission's reviews, is inefficient and inadequate and results in miserably low standards of living.

The Commission retained, after the withdrawal of federal aid, responsibility for certification of eligible persons to the Works Progress Administration, the National Youth Administration, and the Civilian Conservation Corps. These tasks were accomplished by the Commission's Division of Certification and Service, composed of 6 district certification representatives and 163 local agents and their assistants and interviewers.

Persons presumed to be eligible for these services are referred by the local relief units. Referrals are supposedly initiated on the basis of need, providing all other requirements are met. The eligibility of those referred is established by the certifying agent upon the basis of information supplied by the local relief unit and supplemented by office and home interviews and by varied collateral information.⁵⁴

Responsibility for the distribution of surplus commodities has likewise been retained by the Commission. The I.E.R.C., acting as the certifying agent for the Federal Surplus Commodity Corporation, upon the recommendation of the proper authorities certifies

⁵³ "Review of Administrative Policies and Relief Control Facilities and Examination of the Case Load and Intake Applications—Kewanee Township, Henry County" (mimeographed by the Commission, dated July 14, 1939).

⁵⁴ *I.E.R.C. Second Biennial Report*, pp. 104-5.

persons for receipt of surplus commodities. The following home relief cases are eligible to receive surplus commodities:

1. Cases receiving general assistance
2. W.P.A. workers whose wages are insufficient to meet their needs
3. Farm Security Administration cases
4. Mothers' pension cases
5. Old age assistance cases
6. Blind pension cases
7. Veterans and their families receiving aid under the Bogardus Act
8. Families receiving aid through acceptable private welfare organizations
9. Cases eligible for, but not receiving, relief

Public institutions, excepting penal, also receive surplus commodities. Schools, hospitals, orphanages, shelters, and the like are also recipients.⁵⁵

TABLE 1*
AMOUNTS EXPENDED FOR DISTRIBUTION OF FEDERAL
SURPLUS COMMODITIES, OCTOBER, 1936,
THROUGH JUNE, 1938

Agency	Amount	Per Cent
W.P.A.....	\$ 960,942.07	59.4
I.E.R.C.....	199,830.94	12.4
Local relief units.....	455,837.82	28.2
Total.....	\$1,616,610.83	100.0

* Source: *I.E.R.C. Second Biennial Report*, p. 114. Data prior to October, 1936, are not available.

In addition to the determination of eligibility for surplus commodities, the Commission is also responsible for the receipt, storage, and distribution of the commodities made available. A state-wide W.P.A. project, under the sponsorship of the Commission, has been established to distribute the commodities. Contributions for rent, trucking, and other facilities to cover the cost of distribution within each county are made from local poor relief funds.⁵⁶ The average amounts expended during 1936-38 by each of the agencies for this service is illustrated in Table 1.

The retail value of the foods distributed during the period 1936-38 has been estimated at \$9,243,705.18. In June, 1938, the average

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 112-13.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

estimated retail value of surplus food distributed by the I.E.R.C. was \$3.60 per client for the entire state, \$4.14 for Cook County, and \$3.30 for downstate.⁵⁷

The extent to which "surplus commodities" have been used in lieu of relief instead of in addition to relief is not known. It can certainly be assumed, however, that many local officials take surplus foods into consideration when issuing relief orders. With the increase in surplus foods and the decrease in relief grants clients have been forced more and more to depend upon the surplus foods.⁵⁸ It has been pointed out that surplus foods, which in Chicago are about one-fourth of the relief grant, fail to bridge the gap in curtailed relief budgets.⁵⁹

Since Secretary Wallace has announced the "success" of the "Food Stamp Plan"⁶⁰ for the distribution of "surplus commodities," it has been extended to Illinois. Springfield, where the plan was introduced during October, 1939, was the seventh city to experiment with the scheme. Under this plan recipients of general relief, old age assistance, mothers' pensions, blind pensions, and persons working on the W.P.A. are eligible for food stamps. Orange-colored stamps are bought at the rate of approximately \$1.00 per week per person in the family. For each \$1.00 of orange stamps purchased the client receives 50 cents in blue stamps. The orange stamps are valid for the purchase of all commodities usually sold in a grocery store, but the blue stamps are good only for the purchase of "surplus commodities." The client has his choice of those commodities currently on the surplus list.⁶¹

The "surplus commodities," under the "Food Stamp Plan," are distributed through regular wholesale and retail channels at a normal profit. The stamps are sold to the clients at stamp depots main-

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-15.

⁵⁸ Not infrequently has the "abundance of surplus foods been used as an argument by [the local relief units] that the prevailing food allowances were adequate" (Marie Waite, "History of the Nutrition and Clothing Service of the I.E.R.C., February, 1932, through June, 1936" [unpublished A.M. thesis, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, 1939], p. 79).

⁵⁹ *Chicago Daily News*, August 8, 1939.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *The Food Stamp Plan: How It Works in Springfield, Illinois* (Springfield: Food Industry Stamp Plan Committee, October, 1939).

tained as W.P.A. projects or by the local governments. Although the plan may be economically unsound—it is a subsidy to the food and agricultural industries and obviously maintains relatively high prices—the client undoubtedly benefits from it. The recipient has the right to select those surplus commodities he wants,⁶² and he will no longer have a “surplus commodity” truck drive up to his home and deposit his “relief groceries.” The primary purpose of the plan, however, is not the solution of the relief problem but an enlarged scheme of ridding the nation of agricultural surpluses. Might not the relief client benefit equally by granting him additional cash and letting him make his own selections?

The plan, however, has the vigorous approval of the food industry and is being assiduously cultivated by Illinois chambers of commerce. If the funds are available, it will be extended to other Illinois cities, such as Peoria, Bloomington, Rock Island, and Rockford.

General assistance in Illinois, it is clear, is administered at the present time under the local poor-law machinery much as it was before the advent of the F.E.R.A. except that the state issues grants to the localities. The confusion of public assistance administration in Illinois has rightly been labeled a “patchwork.”⁶³ Illinois has had, since 1917, a State Department of Public Welfare which is an executive branch of the state government administering the state penal and charitable services, educational institutions for the handicapped, and services financed wholly or in part by state funds. General assistance is the one welfare function for which the state assumes some supervisory responsibility that is outside its orbit. Relief has been administered through the special temporary commission, the I.E.R.C., since 1935 without federal aid.

Official and unofficial bodies have, on numerous occasions, reviewed the public assistance programs of Illinois and have given wise counsel for a sound program for the future. The Chandler Com-

⁶² This may defeat the very purpose of the Federal Surplus Commodity Corporation. It is conceivable that certain items would move and others would not. Perhaps those commodities that are rejected in the “Food Stamp Plan” areas will be issued as regular “surplus commodities” in other areas?

⁶³ Wilfred S. Reynolds, “Public Welfare Administration a Patchwork in Illinois,” *Social Service Review*, XI (1937), 1.

mission,⁶⁴ originating through the efforts of the Illinois Conference on Social Welfare and created by a resolution of the General Assembly, was appointed by the governor in 1931. This group wisely believed that the child welfare services, which they were designated to study, was part of the larger public welfare field. They therefore proposed an integrated department of public welfare for each county. Such a bill was introduced, but not passed, in the General Assembly in 1931 and 1933.⁶⁵

The I.E.R.C. itself, after two years of wrestling with the relief problem, acknowledged that the problem was no longer an "emergency." At the request of the chairman of the Commission, the executive secretary presented the Commission with a memorandum entitled "Planning for the Future" in June, 1934.⁶⁶ The Commission, recognizing its own inadequacies as an "emergency" agency, proposed its abolition and the absorption of its functions by the Department of Public Welfare.

The result of the Commission's action was the appointment by Governor Horner, in September, 1934, of the Governor's Commission on the Relief Problem, known as the Doering Commission.⁶⁷ A comprehensive survey was made,⁶⁸ and a report submitted to the governor on June 1, 1935. This Commission recommended the absorption of the I.E.R.C. functions by the State Department of Public Welfare; state supervision and county administration of all public welfare functions; and revision of the poor law—especially modifications of local responsibility and local residence for eligibility.⁶⁹

One of the members of the Doering Commission,⁷⁰ at that time

⁶⁴ The Committee on Child Welfare Legislation was known by the name of its chairman, Mr. Henry P. Chandler.

⁶⁵ Frank Z. Glick, *The Illinois Emergency Relief Commission* ("Social Service Monographs"; University of Chicago Press, 1940), p. 228.

⁶⁶ Minutes of the I.E.R.C. Meeting, June 15, 1934.

⁶⁷ The chairman of the Governor's Commission on the Relief Problem was Mr. Otto C. Doering.

⁶⁸ The Commission, with a membership of 20, received an allocation of \$8,000 from the I.E.R.C., and employed an executive secretary and a research assistant (Glick, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-31).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Mr. Frank Bane.

director of the American Public Welfare Association, was requested by the governor to prepare bills embodying the Commission's recommendations. Bills were submitted that would have enabled Illinois to participate in all the public assistance categories of the Social Security Act. Additional bills, designed to give state administrative responsibility to the Department of Public Welfare, were drafted; but these efforts resulted in the passage of not a single bill.⁷¹

Late in 1936 the governor requested the I.E.R.C. to suggest proposed legislation for the consideration of the Sixtieth General Assembly, which was to meet in 1937. The Commission then organized a "Committee To Draft Welfare Legislation." Several principles were adopted as bases for proposed bills. These were (1) that Illinois should take advantage of the public assistance categories of the Social Security Act; (2) that a strong state supervisory authority in the field of public welfare should be created; and (3) that all programs should be locally administered by a single county department. These efforts were likewise futile.⁷²

The organization of an "Illinois Council on Public Assistance and Employment" was the outgrowth of a conference between the governor and the members of the I.E.R.C. This body, known as the Gregory Commission,⁷³ and composed of fourteen citizens appointed by the governor, made an intensive study of relief administration in Chicago.⁷⁴

The Gregory Commission recommended, among other things, that a division of public assistance be established within the State Department of Public Welfare. It was further suggested that local administration be through county boards of public welfare, with the selection of all staff members on the basis of merit.⁷⁵ Bills providing

⁷¹ Glick, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-32.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 235.

⁷³ Mr. Walter L. Gregory was chairman of the Illinois Council on Public Assistance and Employment.

⁷⁴ The I.E.R.C. allocated \$15,000 to the Commission. A director, assistant director, and a statistician were hired. Additional personnel was made available by several Chicago business firms, and the services of the American Public Welfare Association were secured.

⁷⁵ "Report and Further Recommendations on the Administration of Relief in Chicago" (mimeographed, dated July 12, 1938); see also *Adequate Staff Brings Economy* (Chicago: American Public Welfare Association, 1939).

for such reorganization were therefore introduced in the General Assembly but failed to become law.

Despite the activities of these bodies, the administration of general assistance in Illinois, since the exit of the F.E.R.A., has been a retreat to the poor law. It may be asked if this regression resulted from the tactless endeavors of the F.E.R.A.? Or, is the I.E.R.C. to be blamed because it was largely a Chicago rather than a state organization, and because it refused to take any initiative that would have led to the eventual abolition of the poor law? Perhaps it is the fault of the elected officials of the state who have zealously attempted to retain their prerogatives, although most students of the problem believe that progress could not be made without their retirement from the relief picture? A majority of the members of the General Assembly are from downstate Illinois, representing largely agricultural interests, and not especially interested in the problems of relief. Perhaps they contribute to the social backwardness of the state? The General Assembly, furthermore, has lacked adequate leadership.

There are unquestionably many reasons why Illinois has re-enacted, almost with a vengeance, a system of poor relief rather than a modern general assistance program. A system of federal grants-in-aid for general assistance as one of the public assistance categories of the Social Security Act could contribute much toward the modernization of the Illinois program. Inasmuch as the problem is not unique with Illinois,⁷⁶ one may conclude that a program of federal grants-in-aid with resulting national standards and supervision is one way—perhaps the only way—of establishing an intelligent, humane, and modern program for the administration of general assistance.

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⁷⁶ For a description of local relief without federal aid in various parts of the country see *This Business of Relief* (New York: American Association of Social Workers, 1936), pp. 48-67.

SOME ASPECTS OF EUGENIC MARRIAGE LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES*

RUTH VELMA SCHULER

PART II. MENTAL INCAPACITY

FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS

The state is concerned about promoting its welfare by preventing the propagation of mentally deficient persons. This concern expresses itself in state legislation which restricts the privilege of marriage on the part of the idiot, imbecile, or feeble-minded person. A large number of states impose such restrictions, but only a few have outlined programs which may be regarded as adequate to accomplish this purpose.

Marriage is recognized to be a civil contract as well as a relationship in which the state has a vital interest. As a contract, marriage requires certain essentials; it requires parties who are capable of contracting and who give mutual consent. It follows that no contract can be made by a person whose mental endowment is so limited that he is incapable of giving consent. This fact is evidenced by some of the statutes which specify that a mentally deficient person is "incapable of," rather than prohibited from, contracting marriage. The courts have generally held that a marriage made with a person who is unable to give intelligent assent to the contract is void. In some states this fact is implied from the statutes which make provision for dissolving the marriage if one party was feeble-minded at the time of contracting the marriage. However, in many jurisdictions the rule has been changed by statutes which make such a marriage voidable.¹⁵ Some of the states expressly declare that marriage with a mentally deficient person is void; this clear expression of intent

*The material used in this article is condensed from a Master of Arts field study in the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago. Part I, "Communicable Disease," appeared in the March number of this *Review*.

¹⁵ *Corpus juris*, XXXVIII (1925), 1285-86.

would seem to be the strongest and most desirable legislation of its kind.

A question which is vital in the effectiveness of marriage legislation is that of the validity of the common-law marriage. It is apparent that much of the value of restrictive legislation is lost when the licensing requirements can readily be avoided by those who enter a common-law marriage relationship. In some states the common-law marriage is declared to be invalid, in some it is still recognized by statute, and in a large number of states the subject is not mentioned in the statutes. In order for the restrictions on the marriage to handicapped persons to be effective, it is desirable that the statutes declare common-law marriage to be void.

On the whole, the states make little attempt to define the meaning of the terms which they use. The statutes which are more carefully drawn provide means of determining who comes under the state's restriction, but South Dakota is the only state in which there is a statutory definition. In that state feeble-mindedness is declared to include all the individuals, except the insane, who by reason of mental deficiency are incapable of doing the work of the grades in the public schools in a reasonable ratio to their years of life, or who, by reason of mental deficiency and other associated defects, are incapable of making the proper adjustment to life for one of their chronological age.

The reluctance of the legislator to define mental incapacity was well expressed by a judge who made the following statement:

It would be dangerous, perhaps, as well as difficult, to prescribe the precise degree of mental vigor, soundness, and capacity essential to the validity of such an engagement; which, after all, depends more on sentiments of mutual esteem, attachment and affection which the weakest may feel as well as the strongest intellects, than on the exercise of a clear, unclouded reason, or sound judgment, or intelligent discernment and discrimination, and in which it differs in a very important respect from all other civil contracts.¹⁶

It should not be presumed that legislation alone insures a solution of the problem under consideration. The individual who has been refused the right to marry and is therefore doomed to a life of celibacy by reason of mental handicap may be a contributing factor to

¹⁶ *Elzey v. Elzey*, 1 Houst. 308 (Delaware) (1857).

other social problems, particularly illegitimacy. Nor should it be supposed that the existence of a requirement insures its enforcement.

There is no evidence of a standard by which the effectiveness of a statute designed to control the marriage of the mentally deficient may be measured. A comparison of the various provisions, however, reveals a wide range in their scope, and from the comparison certain deductions have been drawn and a standard has arbitrarily been set.

An adequate statute not only prohibits the marriage of the mentally incompetent, but it defines what is meant by the terms used, declares such a marriage void, and establishes an authoritative way in which to determine a person's competence. Since mental incapacity is an enduring condition, it has been found valuable to establish state lists of such persons against which the license issuer may check the name of each applicant. There should be provision for settling, by experts in the field, any question which may arise as to a person's capacity, and the person who is denied the right to marry should have the privilege of appealing to a court. Records should be kept confidential. Since the purpose of this legislation is to restrict the procreation of the unfit, it would seem reasonable that sterilized persons should be excepted from the prohibition against marriage and the prohibition should apply to women of childbearing age only. There should be penalties against persons who falsify in a certificate or who in any way assist a marriage which violates the state's plan to protect itself.

In the following paragraphs the various state provisions will be discussed in detail in relation to a suggested "good" program.

First of all, the statute should declare the marriage of a mentally incompetent person to be void. As mentioned above, in many states this may be inferred to be the case. It may be considered undesirable to make such a marriage voidable, although an annulment may be regarded as proper in many instances in which the marriage would be void even without the pronouncement of the court.

Of the thirty-six jurisdictions which regulate marriage of the feeble-minded, the following states which prohibit the marriage of the mentally incompetent have the desirable provision that any marriage made in violation is void: Georgia, Kentucky, Michigan, Mis-

souri, Montana, Nebraska, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Virginia, and Wyoming. Florida has no statutory prohibition, but the courts have held that the marriage of an idiot is void.

In another group of states the statutes declare that a marriage contracted with a person who was at the time mentally deficient is voidable. These states are New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, Vermont, and the District of Columbia. Washington has no statutory provision, but the court has held that the marriage of a feeble-minded person is voidable rather than void.

In the remaining states which prohibit the marriage of one who is mentally incapable of understanding the contract there is no statutory expression, and it may be inferred that such marriages are void.

The states which regulate the marriage of mentally handicapped persons have varying provisions regarding the validity of common-law marriage. For reasons already discussed, it is desirable that the statutes expressly declare common-law marriage to be illegal. This is true in the following states: California, Illinois, Missouri, North Dakota, Utah, Virginia, and Wisconsin. In another group of states the courts have held common-law marriage to be invalid. These states are Kentucky, North Carolina, Oregon, and Tennessee.

In a large number of states the common-law marriage is recognized as legal. In Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, and Washington the validity of such a marriage is expressed in the respective statutes. In a greater number of states the validity of the common-law marriage has been recognized by the courts, although the question is not mentioned in the statutes. These states are Florida, Indiana, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Wyoming, and the District of Columbia.

There is wide variety in the terminology of the statutes as to the definitions of the mentally handicapped person. As mentioned above, South Dakota is the only state which attempts to give a comprehensive definition of the feeble-minded person.

In one group of states the restrictions are limited to those persons who have formally been declared to be mentally incompetent. Mas-

sachusetts and Michigan specify that the restriction shall apply to idiots and feeble-minded persons. Massachusetts includes persons who have been under commitment to an institution for feeble-minded or an institution for mental defectives or under the supervision of a department of mental diseases, while Michigan includes persons who have been confined in any public institution as feeble-minded or imbecile, or who have been adjudged to be either by a court of competent jurisdiction. Connecticut and Iowa apply the restriction to a person who has been under guardianship as incompetent.

In New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and Oregon the statutes refer to those who lack "understanding."

Two states—Mississippi and Tennessee—apparently have great faith in the discernment of the issuing clerks, for they prohibit the granting of a license to a person who "appears to be" imbecile.

A large group of states use the terms "idiot," "imbecile," "feeble-minded person," or some combination of them, without any attempt at definition. These states are California, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, Wisconsin, Wyoming, and the District of Columbia.

In Georgia one must be "of sound mind" in order to marry. Four states use the commendable plan of a state list of the mentally deficient to which the issuing clerk may refer when confronted with the necessity of determining whether an applicant is capable, according to the law, of marrying. Each plan differs and will be discussed in detail. A number of other states use less desirable plans.

South Dakota outlines a comprehensive plan for the regulation of the feeble-minded. A state commission is authorized by statute to have control over all feeble-minded persons in the state who are not confined in the state home. The commission is assigned the duty of maintaining a continuative census of all feeble-minded persons in the state. All boards of education, teachers, school principals, and superintendents of schools are required to give to the commission, or its agents, access to all school records and children for purposes of examination. It is the duty of all teachers and superintendents to report to the commission the name, age, and residence of all children

found incapable, by reason of mental defectiveness, of doing school work of the common grades and all children who are retarded three or more years. It is the duty of all doctors and nurses, hospital, penal and charitable institution officers, county welfare boards, public health and other public officers, boards or commissions in the state to report to the commission all children believed to be feeble-minded and to furnish all the information they have regarding the name, age, residence, and antecedents of persons believed to be feeble-minded.

It is the duty of the state commission to submit to a subcommission in each county a list of persons in the county who are believed to be feeble-minded and to keep it up to date. On receiving such a list, it is the duty of the subcommission, within thirty days, to make an investigation of each person on the list to determine whether or not he is feeble-minded; and, if a majority of the members of the subcommission find that the person under examination is feeble-minded, they should report this fact and commit the person to the state commission. There is a maximum penalty of \$500 fine or one-year imprisonment or both against the member of the subcommission who fails to comply with these provisions of the law.

On receiving the findings of the subcommission, the state commission files with the clerk of court of each county and other marriage-license issuing agencies a complete list of all feeble-minded persons who are resident in the state. The list is to be revised by the state commission and kept up to date by the clerk of the court who checks it with the revised lists furnished by the state and with lists of the deceased. The clerk is forbidden to issue a license to any person whose name appears on the list unless the applicant can present satisfactory evidence to prove that, while his name appears on the list, he is of different identity.

New Hampshire also has a state list plan which is not so detailed as the above. The statute requires the superintendents of all schools—public, private, and state—to file annually with the state board of health the names of all imbeciles, idiots, and feeble-minded persons who have left school or who have become fourteen years of age during the preceding year. The superintendents of the Laconia state school and the New Hampshire state hospital must file the names of all persons discharged or paroled, and from these a list is made. The

clerk of court then checks with the state list the names of all persons whom he suspects of being mentally incompetent. If any question arises as to the qualification of a person, he is to apply to the state board of health, which should appoint a qualified person to determine the capability of the applicant, and so to certify under oath.

Nebraska's plan is similar to that of New Hampshire, but the state commission evidently outlines the plan, for the statute gives but little detail. The state commission furnishes to the subcommission of each county a list of all persons living within the county who have been found feeble-minded. The list is to be kept up to date, and the clerk is not to issue a marriage license to any applicant if the name of either party appears on the list unless the applicant can prove that he is of different identity.

Iowa prohibits the idiot or imbecile from marrying and provides that the state board of control shall furnish quarterly to the clerk of each district court a list of all persons over fourteen years of age who are or have been inmates of state institutions. The issuing clerk shall satisfy himself that the name of the applicant does not appear on the latest list before he grants a license. Exception is made of those whose competency to marry shall have been subsequently established by judicial proceedings or who have been discharged and given a certificate of full recovery by the superintendent of the institution, a copy of which shall be sent to the clerk of the county from which the individual was committed.

Two states have a plan of medical certification as to the mental competence of the applicant. North Dakota specifies briefly that each applicant must bring an affidavit from at least one licensed physician other than himself to show that he is not an idiot, imbecile, or feeble-minded person. Oregon has a more detailed requirement. The statute specifies that the applicant shall file a certificate, made by a physician licensed to practice by the state board of medical examiners and resident in the state, made within the preceding ten days, to show that to the best of the physician's belief the applicant is not feeble-minded. The state board of eugenics provides blanks and standardized questionnaires for the mental examination. Both the physician and the applicant are to take oath as to the validity of the examination. If the physician decides that an applicant is

ineligible, he is to refer the matter with a full statement of his findings, and any new evidence which the applicant may submit, to a committee of three appointed by a state board of eugenics. The decision of the committee is final, unless the individual takes an appeal to court. In case an applicant is denied, no certificate is to be granted until the examining physician or two others provide signed statements that the reason for denial has been removed through cure or until a committee appointed by the state board of eugenics or the circuit court authorizes the giving of such a certificate. The physician is limited to a maximum fee of \$5.00 for each examination, and the county doctor is required to offer the necessary service if the applicant is indigent.

Michigan offers a curious modification of the certificate plan. Every idiot or person who has been confined in any public institution as feeble-minded or imbecile, or who has been so adjudged by a court of competent jurisdiction, is declared to be incapable of contracting marriage without first filing with the clerk a verified certificate from two licensed physicians of the state stating that he is completely "cured" and that there is no probability that he will transmit his defect or disability to the issue of the marriage.

North Carolina at one time required medical certification, but the effectiveness of the law at the present time is not clear. The law declares that a marriage contracted by any person who is incapable, for want of understanding, is void, and that in order to secure a license the man must present a certificate issued within the seven preceding days to show that he has not been adjudged to be an idiot or an imbecile by a court of competent jurisdiction. A later act "purports in the caption to repeal" the section, but the codifier is evidently puzzled, and the effectiveness of the requirement is open to question.¹⁷

Washington, Kansas, and Virginia attempt to prevent the marriage of the mentally incompetent by using the relatively ineffectual

¹⁷ The early act also specified the requirement for a medical certificate showing freedom from venereal disease. In the *North Carolina Code Annotated* (1935) is a statement by the codifier, A. Hewson Michie, assisted by Beirne Stedman: "chap. 256, Public Laws, 1933, purports in the caption to repeal sections 2500(a) to 2500(e) but no mention is made of the sections in the context of the act, which is codified here as sec. 2500(g)." A new act, sec. 2500(g), offers the man an alternative to the required venereal disease certificate in the form of an affidavit, but the need for a certificate showing mental competence is not mentioned and so is open to question.

means of an affidavit. In Kansas each applicant must make and file an affidavit showing that he is not imbecilic, or feeble-minded, and in Washington a similar affidavit must be signed by each on blanks provided by the county. Virginia requires an affidavit but also provides that the clerk, if he is not satisfied that at least one of the applicants is not an idiot, an imbecile, or a feeble-minded person, may consult the county or city doctor, the chairman of the board of health in the county, or a duly licensed practicing physician who must not charge more than \$2.50 to be paid by the applicant. The clerk is authorized to follow the report secured. It is also specified that any person who knows that an applicant for marriage is subject to a disability may appear before the clerk or minister or officer and present evidence why the license should not be granted or the ceremony not be performed.

Massachusetts specifies that an idiot or feeble-minded person under commitment to an institution for the feeble-minded or under the supervision of a department of mental diseases or an institution for mental defectives is incapable of marriage. Connecticut prohibits the issuance of a marriage license to an applicant if either party to the proposed union is under the control or supervision of a guardian, unless the guardian gives his written consent which shall be filed with the registrar.

It may be considered advisable to make specific provision for the right of appeal to a court on the part of a person who is denied the right to marry because of mental disqualification. Five states make such a specification. Indiana provides automatic appeal, without expense to the applicant, to the circuit judge who may hear the case without a jury. In Iowa a person "aggrieved" by the refusal of a license may bring proceedings to have his competency established. The board of control must be notified and may contest the issue. Either may appeal to the court which may order a license to be issued. Nebraska permits the rejected applicant to appeal to the district court. In Oregon he may appeal within ninety days to the circuit court in the county in which the application had been denied, and the case must then be tried summarily. In South Dakota an appeal must be taken within thirty days after the date of refusal in the county in which the applicant has been refused.

Only three states attempt to protect the records of the mental condition of applicants for marriage licenses. In Nebraska and Oregon they are to be regarded as confidential, while in South Dakota it is unlawful to publish lists of the feeble-minded.

As suggested before, there is no reason why the prohibition against the marriage of mentally incompetent persons should apply to those who are unable to have children.

Three states exempt from the prohibition of marriage persons who have undergone an operation for sterilization. These states are Nebraska, New Hampshire, and South Dakota. Nebraska and South Dakota also exempt persons who can give proof that they are otherwise incapable in this respect.

In six states the mentally defective woman past forty-five years of age is excepted from prohibition against marriage. In three of these states—Connecticut, North Dakota, and Virginia—the prohibition of the marriage of the man of any age is absolute, but in Kansas, New Hampshire, and Washington the mentally deficient man is permitted to marry if he marries a woman of more than forty-five years of age.

In addition to the general penalties fixed by statute against the person who violates the marriage laws, there should probably be penalties imposed specifically to strengthen the legislation regulating the marriage of mentally incompetent persons. A comparatively large number of states have enacted such legislation.

The first offense to be noted is that of marrying in violation of the prohibitions to which reference has been made. Virginia fixes the lowest penalty with a fine of \$100 or ninety days' imprisonment; Connecticut, a maximum of three years' imprisonment; Kansas, a maximum of \$1,000 or three years' imprisonment; Washington, \$1,000 or three years' imprisonment; and Michigan, the highest penalty, with \$1,000 or five years' imprisonment. In each instance both the fine and the imprisonment may be imposed.

Oregon is the one state which penalizes the physician who knowingly and wilfully makes a false statement in the certificate regarding the applicant's mental qualifications, with a maximum fine of \$100 or thirty days in jail, or revocation of license.

The person who issues a marriage license to a mentally unquali-

fied person in violation of the law is penalized by seven states. In Missouri and Nebraska his offense is termed a misdemeanor, in Vermont he is subject to the lowest state fine of \$20, and in Virginia he may be fined a maximum of \$100 or jailed a maximum of ninety days or both fined and imprisoned. In New Hampshire he may be fined from \$50 to \$500 or imprisoned a maximum of thirty days or both fined and imprisoned, in South Dakota he may be fined a maximum of \$500 or imprisoned a maximum of one year or both fined and imprisoned, and in Kansas the fine may be from \$100 to \$1,000 and the imprisonment from three months to five years or both.

Three states fix additional severe penalties against any person who aids a prohibited marriage. Kentucky specifies a fine of from \$50 to \$500, Michigan fixes a fine of \$1,000 or imprisonment for from one to five years or both fine and imprisonment, and Connecticut specifies \$1,000 fine or five years' imprisonment or both.

The last in this group of penalties are those affixed against the person who solemnizes a marriage in violation of the law. Minnesota describes this offense as a gross misdemeanor; New Hampshire specifies fines of from \$50 to \$500 or a maximum of thirty days in jail or both; South Dakota fixes a fine of \$500 or a year in the county jail or both; while Washington and Kansas each specify a maximum fine of \$1,000 or three years' imprisonment or both.

INSANITY

The state expresses concern for its future welfare by regulating the marriage of mentally deranged persons who are variously referred to by statute as lunatic, insane, or of unsound mind.

Much that has already been said about the feeble-minded applies equally to this group of persons and need not be repeated. In order to make a contract of marriage, an individual must be capable of giving his consent; consequently, if the contracting person is not in his right mind, there can be no real marriage, and such a marriage may be considered void. A number of states, however, have seen fit to enact legislation that treats such a marriage as voidable rather than void.

As in the case of legislation dealing with the feeble-minded, the statutes make little attempt to define what is meant by the term

"insane." Insanity may be said to differ from feeble-mindedness in that it consists of a loss or derangement of faculties rather than an absence of mind, and it may be further distinguished as a condition which is subject to change so that the individual may have lucid periods rather than as an enduring condition. In a legal sense it has been defined as "such unsoundness of mental condition as, with regard to any matter under action, modifies or does away with individual legal responsibility or capacity."¹⁸

There is no standard by which to measure an adequate state program for regulation of the marriage of the insane, but a "good" statute on this subject might be said to embody the points already suggested under the recommended program for the feeble-minded, with one important exception. Since an insane person may be restored to reason, the plan of using a relatively permanent state list of the mentally incompetent would not be possible. There should rather be a competent means by which sanity of an individual who has been found to be insane can be determined at the time of application and his marriage should be prohibited unless he is authoritatively pronounced cured.

The first point to be considered is the statutory provision regarding the validity of the marriage of a person who is unable to understand the nature of the contract which is he making. It is desirable that the statute expressly declare such a marriage to be void. This is true in Georgia, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Virginia, and Wyoming. The statutes of Florida fail to mention the subject, but the courts have held that such a marriage is void.

In another group of states the marriage of the insane person or one who lacks "understanding" may be declared void by order of the court. These states are Nevada, New York, Oregon, South Dakota, Vermont, and the District of Columbia. In Delaware the marriage is voidable at the instance of the innocent party. A number of states point out that the marriage is voidable unless the individual, on being restored to reason, voluntarily continues the relationship of marriage.

A large number of states fail to mention the matter of the valid-

¹⁸ *Corpus juris*, XXXII (1923), 593.

ity of the marriage of a person of unsound mind, and, for the reasons discussed above, in these states it may be assumed to be void.¹⁹

The statutes make little attempt to define what is meant by the term "insane." The nearest approach is made by Vermont, which declares that a "lunatic" is a person of unsound mind other than an idiot; but, since no definition of an idiot is given, this is not particularly helpful.

Since the statutory definitions of this group of handicapped persons are so meager, it would seem advisable to designate them as persons who had formally been declared to be incapable of managing their own affairs. A considerable number of states have so designated the persons against whom the marriage restriction applies, and these will be described in detail.

In two jurisdictions the mentally incompetent person is described as one who has been so adjudged. Nebraska prohibits the marriage of a person who has been adjudged to be afflicted with hereditary insanity, and the District of Columbia refers to the person who has been adjudged to be a lunatic. In two states the restriction is based on commitment to an institution. Delaware and New Jersey prohibit the marriage of a person who is or has been an inmate of an insane asylum. Michigan combines the two definitions in restricting the marriage of either the person who has been confined in any public institution as insane or the person who has been so adjudged by a court of competent jurisdiction. Connecticut and Iowa place restrictions only on the incompetent person who has been under guardianship. Three states specify either guardianship or commitment to an institution as a basis for judging mental incompetency. Massachusetts prohibits the marriage of the insane person who is under commitment to an institution for mental defectives or to the custody of the state department of mental diseases. Indiana and Pennsylvania have identical prohibitions against the marriage of the person who is under guardianship as a person of unsound mind or any male person who has been within five years an inmate of any county asylum or home for indigent persons in the five years preceding the

¹⁹ These states are California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, South Carolina, Tennessee, Washington; and Wisconsin.

application. Mississippi and Tennessee prohibit the marriage of any person who "appears to be" insane.

The next question to be considered is that of determination of the mentally incompetent person's fitness to marry. It should be based on expert medical opinion.

New Hampshire has a comprehensive program to determine the fitness of an applicant, the same plan which it provides for the feeble-minded group. The program includes a state list of mental defectives and determination of any question of capability by the state board of health.

Iowa also uses the plan of a state list of mentally incompetent persons. It provides further that the person who has been prohibited from marriage because of commitment to an institution for the insane may be permitted to marry if his competency is subsequently established by judicial proceedings or if he has been discharged as cured by the superintendent of the institution who is to give a certificate of full recovery, a copy of which shall be sent to the clerk of court of the county from which the patient was committed. If the patient is discharged before regaining full sanity, he may submit to an examination and be given a certificate of full recovery.

Three states which restrict the marriage of the person who has been confined to an institution for the insane require some form of discharge. Delaware requires a signed certificate from the superintendent of the asylum in which the applicant was a patient, stating that the patient is fit to marry, otherwise he is prohibited from marrying, either while an inmate or while on parole from the institution. Michigan requires the person who has been confined in a public institution as insane to file a verified certificate from two licensed doctors of the state to show that he is completely cured and that there is no probability that he will transmit his disability to the issue of marriage. New Jersey makes a simple requirement that the person who is or has been an inmate of an insane asylum shall not marry until it appears that he has been satisfactorily discharged therefrom.

A physician's certificate is accepted as proof of mental competence in other states also. North Dakota requires every person who has "heretofore" been afflicted with "hereditary insanity" to file an affidavit from at least one licensed doctor other than himself to show

that the applicant is not insane. Oregon has a comprehensive program which makes it necessary for each applicant to file a doctor's certificate showing that the applicant is not insane. North Carolina has a requirement for a physician's certificate, but, because of a repeal measure, the present effect of the statute is open to question.

Connecticut permits the mentally defective person under guardianship to marry if he files the written consent of his guardian.

Indiana and Pennsylvania (both of which prohibit the marriage of the person of unsound mind or of any man who has been an inmate of any county asylum or home for indigent persons within the preceding five years) lift the restriction if it appears that the cause has been removed and that the man so prohibited is physically able to support a family and likely to continue to be so able.

Kansas and Washington are content to accept the affidavit of each applicant to prove that he is not insane.

Three states make the desirable provision for appeal to the courts. In Iowa the rejected applicant may bring proceedings to have his competency established. The state board of control will be notified and may contest the issue; either the applicant or the board may then appeal. Indiana requires the clerk to file an appeal free of charge for each disqualified applicant. Oregon permits an appeal to be filed within ninety days in the circuit court in the county in which the application was denied, and trial is held without a jury.

Oregon respects the confidential nature of the records concerning the mental competence of applicants for marriage.

Nebraska and New Hampshire except from the prohibition of marriage the insane person who has undergone an operation for sterilization.

Six states make the same exception to the prohibition of the marriage of the insane person as of the feeble-minded on the basis of age.

Among the offenses to be discussed, the first is that of marriage in violation of the statute. Six states impose identical penalties for the marriage of the insane as for the feeble-minded, and there is the additional state of Delaware which penalizes the person of unsound mind who violates the prohibition with a maximum fine of \$100 or thirty days' imprisonment or both.

Oregon is the only state which penalizes the certifying physician who deliberately falsifies.

Four states penalize the official who issues a certificate to the insane person in violation of the restriction. These states are the following: Missouri, which declares such a violation to be a misdemeanor; Virginia, with a fine of \$100, ninety days in jail, or both; New Hampshire, with a fine of from \$50 to \$500, thirty days in jail, or both; and Kansas, which has a maximum fine of \$1,000, three years' imprisonment, or both.

Two states affix penalties for the offense of aiding an insane person to marry in violation of the law. In Kentucky the penalty is a fine of from \$50 to \$500, and in Connecticut it is \$1,000, five years' imprisonment, or both.

The final penalty is for solemnizing the marriage of a mentally incompetent person in violation of the prohibition. Five states fix such penalties, which are identical with those fixed for the persons who solemnize marriages of the feeble-minded in violation of the law.

CHILDREN'S AND MINORS' SERVICE
RELIEF ADMINISTRATION, CHICAGO

A COMMUNITY RECORD FROM A RURAL COUNTY¹

GRACE A. BROWNING

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—"Clinton" County is one of eight or ten rural counties in a middle western state that have been selected for child welfare services on a demonstration basis. Prior to the passage of the Federal Social Security Act in 1935, there had been no provision in that state for public services to children other than institutional care. At the present time, in addition to the workers assigned to local demonstration units, there are three consultants and a supervisor of the Child Welfare Division on the staff of the State Welfare Department.

The following portion of a record includes the report of a child welfare consultant covering visits made by her to Clinton County preliminary to establishment of the unit and the narrative reports of the child welfare worker during the first four months the unit was in operation. It is not a "community organization" record in the broad sense of that term but is rather a record of the establishment of a specialized case-work service and the community activities of a "special interest" group.²

This record may be used in teaching from various standpoints. One important point would seem to be the help it may give the student with the integration of content from various courses; case work and community organization, in particular, although group work and certain aspects of administration also enter in. It may also help the student to relate the knowledge he has acquired from various courses to the rural setting.

It has proved useful in a course in Public Welfare in Rural Communities in the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago. Discussion of the record has centered around such questions as the amount and kind of information needed concerning a rural community as a basis for establishing a new service; the sources of such information and methods to be used in obtaining it; ways in which a case worker may relate himself to existing resources in the community and stimulate the development of new ones to meet the needs uncovered through the study of individual case situations. It

¹ This record has been preprinted from a volume of rural records to be published later, with teaching notes, by the University of Chicago Press.

Reprints of the record appearing in this issue of the *Social Service Review* are available from the University of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, at 10 cents per copy; minimum order, ten copies, \$1.00.

² See Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson, *Rural Community Organization* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1939), pp. 171-85, for a discussion of community organization methods of other special interest groups in rural communities.

also may be used to suggest such interesting administrative questions as the relationship between a new service of this kind to the already established public assistance program and the point of development at which a local advisory committee might be organized.

The first part of the record especially may be evaluated profitably by the student in comparison with similar records from other areas and with some of the projects for community surveys outlined in *Research in Rural Social Work*, Bulletin No. 5 of the Social Science Research Council.³

The *Social Service Review* is grateful to the Child Welfare Division and the County Welfare Department which have made this material available and which for obvious reasons prefer to remain anonymous. Personal and place names and other identifying data have been changed, but otherwise only slight alterations have been made in the interest of clarity.]

REPORT ON CLINTON COUNTY BY CHILD WELFARE
SERVICES CONSULTANT

County Seat—Dover

Total population of county—38,000

Area of county—4,000,000 acres

July 13, 1938.—Field Representative⁴ gave his approval of a visit to the county to explain types of service available through our division for the coming year. Field Representative is new in this district, but from his discussion with the previous field representative he believes Clinton County to be interested in securing a child welfare worker to help them with their numerous children's problems. Field Representative had tentatively discussed this possibility with them, and they had asked her to give them more information when the 1938-39 plans for the child welfare division were completed.

July 19, 1938.—In county welfare office in Dover. Interviewed County Director and Case Supervisor regarding possibility of a child welfare worker in county.

Description of county.—The county was established in 1867 after neutral land had been secured from the Indians in 1866. The county was rapidly settled, and by 1870 had sufficient population to be considered "settled" and no longer a pioneer community.

³ Edited by John D. Black. See especially Project 10, "Survey of Social Work Services and Resources," by Margaret Byington, and Project 11, "Organization of Social Welfare Work—Child Care and Protection as an Example," by Emma Lundberg, pp. 58-84.

⁴ This refers to the field representative of the Public Assistance Division of the State Department of Public Welfare.

A COMMUNITY RECORD FROM A RURAL COUNTY 319

The present population figures for the principal city and villages in the county are as follows:

Franklin.....	17,200
Dover (county seat).....	2,302
Prairieville.....	1,915
Sun City.....	1,500

Of the total population of the county, 63 per cent are classified as rural, with 13,408 farm families averaging 3.7 persons per family. Of the population on farms, 72 per cent were native whites of native parentage, while 19 per cent were of foreign-born parentage. Approximately one-third of the foreign-born population came from France and Italy, 20 per cent from Germany and nearby countries, 19 per cent from Russia, Poland, and Yugoslavia, and 16 per cent from countries of the British Empire. Of the total population, 87 per cent were native whites, 10 per cent foreign-born whites, 2 per cent Negroes.

In 1900 there were extensive strikes in the mines, and colored workers were brought in at this time to replace strikers, which accounts for the colored population in the county. In 1920, during the railroad strike, poor whites from the South came in to replace strikers and brought with them their lower standards of living. There has been continuous labor struggle in this county.

Occupations.—Coal-mining and agriculture are the chief occupations. The best farm land is in the northwestern part of the county, and these farms are sufficiently self-supporting to make a noticeable decrease of applications for assistance from this area. The average size of the farms is 117 acres per farm; and in 1935, 40 per cent of these farms were operated by their owners, 41 per cent by tenants, and 19 per cent by part-owners. Livestock occupies an important place in the agriculture of the county. Most of the soils are adapted to the production of grasses for pasture purposes. Crop adaptation is fairly wide if good soil-management methods are used.

The mining district, which was in the flower of its development in the 1880's, is in a triangular shape. The hypotenuse is east of Dover and the apex is in the northeast corner with mining extending down into Rogers County on the southern border of Clinton. Franklin, located about 5 miles from one state line and 23 miles from another state line, is the commercial and freight center for this mining area. Clinton County coal fields produce 90 per cent of the coal mined in the state. The wholesale estimate of the production value of this area has been placed at approximately \$10,000,000. Strip mining has replaced deep-shaft mining.

Large electric shovels remove the overburden of soil from the vein of coal, and the largest of these can go to a depth of 90 feet. With this type of mining in which one shovel removes 30 yards of dirt with each bite, one shovel manned by twenty-five miners can produce as much coal in a day as five hundred miners in a deep-shaft mine. Coal operators are completing their work in the deep-shaft mines which they have already opened but are not sinking others.

Strip-mine operations leave the land useless for agriculture, as continuous sequences of hills and gullies are the result of the excavation process. Coal companies continue to hold this land at an assessed valuation of approximately \$5.00 an acre, for in the distant future it might be profitable to mine for the deeper coal in the veins of this territory. Obviously, land at such a low value yields extremely low tax returns for the county.

There has been a labor-management conflict in the county for years. There are now two rival unions—the Progressive Miners, an American Federation of Labor affiliate, and the United Miners of America, a Congress of Industrial Organization affiliate—fighting each other for control of labor. Industrial management is said to avoid establishing new industries here because of labor problems in the county.

As the territory surrounding Franklin is favored with several natural resources in addition to coal, important industrial developments have been built around each of these. Railroad facilities are good, and there are four railroads with one main line running north and south, and the east and west traffic is served by branch lines.

An illegitimate type of occupation in the form of bootlegging of liquor is said to be followed by some of the people along the eastern border of the county, with the center for this activity in Prairieville.

Service agencies.—Franklin, in addition to a state college, has several agencies offering various social services. Each year the Y.M.C.A. has a successful drive for around \$2,500. They have a large, adequate building, which houses recreational and educational activities for boys. It is 75 per cent self-supporting, but membership fees for underprivileged boys are waived. The president of the Y.M.C.A. is also president of the county chapter of the Red Cross.

The Salvation Army, with a total contribution of around \$5,000 a year, is responsible for meals and lodging for transients referred by the County Welfare Department. (The county welfare office checks the investigation of transients who have residence in other states and takes the responsibility for arrangements for their transportation back to their points of residence.) The executive officer of the Salvation Army is leaving, and his

successor is not known. He served as truant officer for the city of Franklin, probably without salary. It is not known if the new officer will do truant work for the city.

The local Elks Club has been responsible in the past for providing shoes for school children.

The executive secretary of the county chapter of the American Red Cross is Mrs. Anderson. In 1934-36 she was on the case-work staff of the American Red Cross in Clinton County, and since the staff was reduced to one full-time worker in 1936 she has been executive secretary. It is interesting historically to know that in 1932 the American Red Cross raised \$22,000 from private funds for emergency relief administered by them in co-operation with the county commissioners. Some of this fund remained when emergency relief was taken over by the E.R.A. in 1933. The Red Cross has used this money for charity work since that date, and the funds are now almost exhausted. In addition to this, they have raised around \$6,000 a year on their roll call. Mrs. Anderson says that most of this money comes from the working and middle class and that there is no tradition of social service among the wealthy class in Franklin, as in some communities. The chapter also administers a \$200-a-month fund appropriated from tax funds by the city council to the Franklin Provident Society, which allocates it to the Red Cross for administration. This society was formerly a family welfare association, and still has elected officers but no function except receiving money, as noted. The chapter has a twofold program: service to veterans' compensation cases and the promotion of a child health program, involving remedial work for children as recommended by local physicians. Because of the money that they receive from the city of Franklin, they have additional obligations within that city, chiefly for medical care, glasses, tonsillectomies, and general case-work responsibilities for a few families referred to them by city officials and interested individuals. The chapter tries to use its money for services which cannot be legally supplied by the County Welfare Department.

Dover agencies.—A certain sum (amount unknown) is raised from private sources in this city and dispensed by volunteers. They spend their funds for medical service in cases where the county cannot provide this, and they authorize milk in certain cases of tuberculosis. Volunteer workers consult with the county welfare office on most cases to avoid duplication. The president of this group is also active in the Red Cross.

Health service.—There are three private hospitals in the county with which the County Welfare Department has contracts for hospital care for their clients. Medical care for the indigent is provided by private physi-

cians on a fee basis. There is a full-time city health officer in Franklin, who carries out the regular duties of his office. There is a full-time county health officer for the area outside of Franklin. Last year he carried on an immunization program in all the county schools at the request of the school officials. This type of program was opposed by the Franklin physicians and therefore is not available for the school children in that city.

Nursing service.—There was one registered nurse on W.P.A. who gave bedside nursing care on call of any doctor and who investigated the health of county school children. The eligibility requirements of this type of project have changed during the last year, and there is no possibility of replacing this nurse or adding others, as relief status is made a requirement for assignment and there are no nurses in the county in need of public assistance.

Medical costs.—The county spent \$1,815 in June for fees to doctors and \$2,245 for other medical care in addition to that necessary for budgeted medical needs. The high cost of medical care in this county is attributed, in part, by the county director and case supervisor to the increasing health problems growing out of several years of poverty and subsequent neglect of health. The prevalence of venereal disease was stressed by the county director, by the Red Cross secretary, and in field representatives' reports.

W.P.A.—In addition to the nursing service mentioned, there is an extensive household-aid program, sponsored by the W.P.A., and a nursery school in Prairieville. There have been 2,412 persons assigned to work projects from the county (June statistics), and 200 remain unassigned. The county has reached the statutory limit of funds which can be provided through bonds for participation with the federal government in W.P.A. projects. They are spending about \$14,000 a month as their share at present.

Administration of county welfare department.—The main office is located on the first floor of the well-constructed courthouse in Dover. The welfare office appeared to be arranged in a convenient, orderly fashion. The case-work department is in one medium-sized room, with what appeared to be adequate desk space. There are three rooms for interviewing and intake. A stenographic department adjoins the case-work department, with the supervisor of business and finance and his staff on another floor of the courthouse.

A district office is maintained in Franklin. Mr. Martin is the assistant case-work supervisor in Franklin and has in his office five home visitors. Four additional home visitors were recently added to the total staff of eleven workers. This will relieve some of the pressure of work on the home

visitors, but they will still carry a case load of around two hundred cases each.

The county director and case supervisor commented on the co-operation of the County Welfare Board⁵ and its members' keen sense of social responsibility. Field representatives in their reports have made the same observation of this board. Mr. Rose, chairman, was formerly president of the Franklin School Board.

Financial situation.—According to Mr. Lane, Department of Research and Statistics (state office), the public-assistance budget of this county for 1939 calls for three times the amount that can be raised through bonds and tax levies within the statutory limitations. The county is participating in the state equalization fund. It will be noted from the following statistics that the estimated budget for 1939 for this county is twice that of 1938 and that the county, with a grand total of \$594,000 of public-assistance and work-relief bonds issued for 1935-37, inclusive, had to issue \$132,000 worth of bonds in the period between January 1, 1938, and May 1, 1938, showing the rapidly mounting relief costs in this county. By June 30, 1938, or during the first half of the fiscal year, the county had expended 72 per cent of its estimated budget for 1938.

1. Public-assistance and work-relief bonds issued January 1—May 1, 1938:

Public assistance.....	\$ 66,000
Work relief.....	66,000
Total.....	<u>\$132,000</u>

2. Public-assistance and work-relief bonds issued 1935-37, inclusive:

	1937	1936	1935	Total
Public assistance.....	\$145,000	\$ 75,000	\$ 90,000	\$310,000
Work relief.....	107,500	109,000	68,000	<u>284,500</u>
Grand total.....				<u>\$594,500</u>

3. Statement of revenue available for welfare purposes in 1938:

Unobligated balance on hand beginning of budget year..	\$ 5,452.33
Collection of delinquent taxes.....	2,500.00
Current tax collections.....	28,078.57
Cigarette tax collections.....	2,000.00
Sales tax refund.....	26,140.24
Miscellaneous income.....	600.00
Bonds issued within budget year.....	<u>79,000.00</u>
Total.....	<u>\$143,771.14</u>

⁵ The county welfare boards in this state are made up of the county commissioners.

4. Average grant

a) Amount of grant	State	County
A.D.C. (per child).....	\$11.87	\$11.31
General assistance.....	13.86	11.59
b) Number receiving grant		
Number of families.....	139	
Number of children.....	291	

5. N.Y.A. (work project) May statistics..... 214

6. F.S.A. 76

The case supervisor estimated that they had an unduplicated case count of between 1,600 and 1,800. Fifty per cent of this case load is handled in the Dover office, and around 50 per cent in the Franklin district office, which includes the city of Franklin and Franklin Township. Because of its limited funds, the county has been able to give only 60 per cent of the budgetary deficiency in aid to dependent children cases, 75 per cent in old age assistance, and 50 per cent of the food budget in the general assistance cases. In addition, the clients receive clothing and food commodities, and medical service in the general assistance cases. Medical service is part of the budget in the categorical cases.

Child welfare statistics:

1. Number in children's institutions—July 1, 1938:

State Training School for the Feeble-minded.....	47
State Orphans' Home	1
Boys' Industrial School.....	1
Girls' Industrial School.....	0
Total.....	49

2. Juvenile court statistics—July 1, 1936—July 1, 1937:

a) Delinquent	
Cases tried.....	6
Paroled.....	3
Sentenced.....	3
Otherwise disposed of	0
b) Dependent	
Cases tried.....	0
Sent to State Orphanage.....	0
Sent to private institutions.....	0
Placed in family homes.....	0
Total.....	12

3. County jail statistics—July 1, 1936—July 1, 1937:

Boys under 16 years	3
Girls under 18 years	0
Total	3

4. County superintendent's report of defective children—July 1, 1936—July 1, 1937:

Deaf	1
Blind	1
Crippled	5
Feeble-minded	3
Hard of hearing	0
Markedly defective in sight	0
Defective in speech	0
Total	10

Juvenile court.—Samuel R. Peck, probate judge, interviewed in his court with County Director and Case Supervisor present. The judge has been in office eighteen years and has no political opposition. He is a former president of the State Association of Probate Judges and still takes an active interest in this organization.

Judge Peck estimated that he has from six to twelve juvenile cases per year. He feels that his primary responsibility is the probate work of his court, which takes most of his time. He has a strong conviction that not many children's cases should be handled through the courts. He said he thought many juvenile cases "might be dug up," but he did not think this advisable. He said that certain officials had, in the past, asked for too many hearings on children's cases, and he had discouraged them on their referrals. He has been asked to hold juvenile court occasionally in the city of Franklin but is not inclined to do so, as he thinks it is possible for children and witnesses to come to Dover from that city. He believes that the police take care of most of the juvenile problems in Franklin through warning children and parents when there is any misconduct. He discussed intelligently the use of the detention home in larger counties, with its attendant expense, and expressed himself in favor of temporary boarding-homes for children who could not be returned to their own homes pending a hearing. He had never heard of the child welfare program and, after it was outlined to him, did not express any great enthusiasm or make any association between it and his work but made the blanket statement that he would co-operate in any way he could. The county office had received his co-operation in problem cases and in giving information to their

office. He had recently asked the case-work department to approve a home in which he planned to place a child.

The county attorney was met casually in the halls. He saw the problems of the young delinquents in this community as growing out of poor parental management and frustrations involved in lack of employment and in the prevalence of poverty. He estimated the average age of the criminal offender in this county as around seventeen years and most of them under twenty-five years.

County Superintendent of Schools Thomas Henderson was seen in his office in the courthouse with County Director and Case Supervisor present. He saw the health needs of the school children as most important. He feels keenly the need for a public-school nurse. He spoke of the health examination of the county school children in 1929 by Dr. Matson of the State Board of Health, under the auspices of the Sarah Carson Fund for Tuberculosis, and regretted that no follow-up on this had been done. The parents took care of some of the remedial work recommended, but in his opinion the medical examination and diagnosis were fruitless in many cases.

He considered the truancy problems to be adequately cared for by the county attendance officer and spoke with pride of the record of only six or seven cases of truancy during the last year. In most instances, he thought absence from school was because of lack of clothing and praised the county board for the fine co-operation they gave the attendance officer in securing the necessary shoes and clothing. When questioned by us, he dwelt briefly on the problem of the backward child in school, speaking of the school's attempt to individualize its problem and to provide courses which would better prepare children for life in terms of the child's ability. There is no regular psychological service available in the school system, although an occasional case can be taken to the psychological department of the college at Franklin for diagnosis.

He emphasized the need for additional vocational training for young people of fifteen and sixteen years who are out of school and unable to find work and who are not yet eligible for any of the programs for youth. He feels that behavior problems in this group of young people grow out of their lack of occupation and recreation. His solution is to prolong school training with emphasis on vocational education.

He asked if the child welfare worker would replace the truant officer and hoped that this would not be so. He was assured that our work would be to extend and strengthen, and not to supplant, services already available to the children in the community. He offered his co-operation with the program on this basis.

SUMMARY OF CHILD WELFARE PROBLEMS AS SEEN BY
COUNTY LEADERS

The county director and the case supervisor stressed the following:

Health problems.—Need for prevention in this field to reduce further economic loss through ill health. The tuberculosis association, in one study, found four hundred children with positive tubercular reaction. There are severe cases of malnutrition in the children of relief clients. One baby with rickets was in the hospital six months. Another was hospitalized nine months because of complications growing out of its malnutrition. It is recognized that a child welfare worker could only lend her weight in the attack on these major problems of health growing out of poverty. She could be of specific service in selecting and supervising convalescent homes for children who could not be released from the hospital because they would not receive proper nursing care at home due to the inadequacy of the parents.

Boarding-home care.—This county has several children placed in boarding-homes outside of the county and other cases where it is thought that this care is indicated. The home visitors do not have time or necessary training to enable them to select proper foster-homes and supervise these. The child welfare worker could be of service in developing a group of boarding-homes for use by the county. The county board is anxious to have money for boarding-home care spent in the county.

Unmarried mother.—This is another problem with which they thought a child welfare worker could assist.

Broken homes.—This phase of the welfare work requires closer supervision than can be given by the overburdened home visitors.

Out-of-school youth.—Boys and girls fifteen or sixteen years old who have no occupational or recreational outlets are drifting into delinquency.

The assistant case supervisor, Mr. Martin, was seen briefly in his Franklin office. Our program was presented to him in skeleton form. He understood it was primarily a rural program and that the child welfare worker's efforts would be concentrated outside of Franklin. He asked if selected cases presenting severe problems in the city could be supervised by the child welfare worker. He was told there was a possibility this could be worked out, depending upon the demands for service in the rural area. He would like to use a child welfare worker as a consultant for his home visitors. He impressed us as intelligently interested in the program.

The county superintendent of schools saw the need for vocational training for out-of-school youths and the health problem of the school child.

The juvenile court judge recognized need for boarding-homes for detention of juvenile delinquents when they could not be returned to their own homes.

The executive secretary of the American Red Cross thought that she could not meet all the needs of children in her county, although she is attempting to give case-work service to certain families, particularly in Franklin. She ex-

pressed herself as ready to welcome an additional worker in the children's field. She felt there were severe social problems among the children in the rural areas which have not been discovered or treated.

Future plans.—The county director and the case supervisor at the conclusion of our visit requested that a child welfare worker be placed in their county. They seem to have an intelligent understanding of the type of work she would do and to recognize the need for this service. The county director plans to approach the county board regarding the possibility of securing such a worker and anticipates a favorable response. He plans to call together a group of community leaders and have the child welfare consultant present the child welfare program to them for their approval and backing. Child welfare consultant will be notified when this meeting is arranged and will also be available to discuss the details of our program with the county board at their request.

August 17, 1938.—Casual visit to county welfare office on trip to another county to learn what present status of this county is with respect to a child welfare worker but not to press for action of any sort. Mr. Eldon, county director, seen briefly. He has discussed the possibilities of securing a child welfare worker with each member of the board individually, and they approved the plan. They have been too preoccupied with other matters to take any formal action. Also, Mr. Eldon thought the next step was to be taken by our division in designating the county as acceptable for a child welfare unit. He and Case Supervisor are anxious to have the services of a child welfare worker, and he will propose a resolution forming such a program to the county board tomorrow and then wants us to select a worker as rapidly as possible. County Director thought it unnecessary for child welfare consultant to meet with the board. In addition to presenting them with copies of our announcement of child welfare services [a state office bulletin], he has told them that a child welfare worker is not an additional home visitor, but a highly trained worker who will carry a selected case load from the relief and non-relief groups of about ten cases on a county-wide basis (number corrected to about fifty by child welfare consultant); who will work with other agencies in the community to develop a well-rounded child welfare program; who will be supervised by consultant; and who will assist the county to develop boarding-homes. Board members are particularly interested in the possibilities of a foster-home program. County Director suggested that child welfare consultant and the child welfare worker meet with the board to outline details of program after enabling resolution has been adopted and worker has been selected.

Mr. Eldon would prefer a woman worker and one who has had some experience with foreign and mining groups, but will accept anyone who we believe has the necessary qualifications to do a successful job.

September 26, 1938.—An acceptable resolution covering all the points requested by our division received from County Welfare Board.

November 9, 1938.—Acknowledgment of receipt of resolution by Child Welfare Division sent to county. Notified Clinton County that it was accepted for one of the units which will be established as soon as a suitable worker can be found.

February 28 to March 1, 1939. Approval of worker.—Miss Arnold, suggested by the Child Welfare Division, was introduced by child welfare consultant to County Director and to Chairman of County Board and received their approval for appointment as worker in this unit. The chairman had been given authority by the other commissioners to take this action in their absence.

Local staff meeting.—Child welfare consultant, Miss Arnold, new child welfare worker, and County Director met with complete county staff. Miss Arnold outlined to them the objectives and procedures of a child welfare unit, with particular emphasis on our methods of intake and reasons for these. Questions were invited, but there was little staff comment, although the general attitude was friendly.

Office arrangements.—Mr. Eldon assisted in our efforts to find a private office for the worker. There is no available space in the courthouse, and tentative arrangements were made through the clerk of the city council for Miss Arnold to use the conference room in the city hall, which is located across the square from the courthouse. This large room does not provide the best environment for interviews but has a separate entrance, and the worker could have sole use of it except on the one evening when the city council meets. Plans were for the county director and child welfare consultant to meet the city council on March 13 to secure their approval of the use of their room.

Several applications for stenographic positions are on file in the county office, and arrangements were made for Miss Arnold to make her final selection of a stenographer after she had had an opportunity personally to interview and to test the different applicants' ability.

Red Cross.—Child Welfare Worker was introduced to Mrs. Anderson, executive secretary of the Red Cross in Franklin, and our program in the county discussed with her. We were able to define our relationship to her work as follows:

She will continue to give case-work service on those families already active with her where she is attempting to treat the child's social

problem. She understands that our interest is primarily in the child in the rural areas in the county, and she will refer any child in this area known to her to be in need of our services, if she so desires. Referrals from the county welfare office to the unit will be restricted ordinarily to children living in the rural area surrounding the city; however, we reserve the right to accept the case of a child living in Franklin when we feel that there is urgent need for our services because of the seriousness of the child's or family's problem, and when the case is not already known to Mrs. Anderson. She was advised that there was a possibility that some cases would be carried by the Franklin home visitors with Child Welfare Worker acting in the capacity of consultant. As Mrs. Anderson and welfare office clear on cases, there is no duplication of effort. Mrs. Anderson seemed relieved that we would not concentrate our efforts in Franklin and in that way possibly compete with her for children's cases. She is interested in the treatment of behavior and social problems of children as a part of her work. She invited Miss Arnold to join the County Mental Hygiene Society and voluntarily arranged an appointment for us with Dr. Reynolds, professor in the psychology department of the state college located in Franklin.

Dr. Reynolds, who is active in the Mental Hygiene Society and described by Mrs. Anderson as interested in community organization for child welfare services, was seen in his office. The state and child welfare programs were explained to him. He has a clear concept of the function of a social worker and the type of cases in which she would be interested. He has felt there was a sufficient need in the community for case-work services for children to merit the placement of a unit in the county. Psychological service is available through his department for a child in any part of the county, and he will be willing to have this resource used by the unit.

Dr. Reynolds requested Miss Arnold's assistance in trying to develop a social service council as an organization to co-ordinate the various welfare activities in the county. Interest in this has been developed in the Mental Hygiene Society, as they have noticed a duplication of services and a lack of community planning in the support of new agencies which "spring up over night," and sometimes do not appear to fulfil a necessary social need in the community. The Mental Hygiene Society at present has undertaken a survey of recreational facilities in Franklin and hopes through this to show the need for additional recreational facilities and start community planning toward this end.

Tuberculosis association.—Mrs. Laura Harris, part-time field worker

for the State Tuberculosis Association, expressed an interest in our children's program when it was described to her in an interview arranged through the case supervisor. In her experience as county chairman, as well as field worker for the association, and as president of the Council of Parent-Teachers Association groups in Franklin, she has had occasion to know of several cases involving children where some social treatment and study was needed. She offered to take our worker on a contemplated trip around the county to introduce her to the township chairmen of the Tuberculosis Association and also to leaders in some of the few rural P.-T.A. groups.

Probate judge.—Judge Peck again assured us of his co-operation with the program. The meeting with him was brief, and there was no opportunity to derive any better understanding than we already have of his attitude toward juvenile cases.

Dover leaders.—Mrs. Foster, president of the Dover Community Chest, and Mr. Blake, city clerk, seen with County Director, and an introductory statement made about our program in the county. Their response was that there was a need for the services and that they would co-operate with our worker.

Future plans.—(1) Child Welfare Worker is to review records and discuss cases with home visitors for referral to unit. Intake conferences on these will be held March 15 at the time of child welfare consultant's return to county. (2) No new cases from the city of Franklin to be accepted through referral by the welfare office unless there is urgent need for our services, as in the case of a juvenile delinquent or a homeless or neglected child. (3) Plan by which Child Welfare Worker will be available one day a week in Franklin to consult with workers there on city cases will be tried and continued if found to have value. Home visitors in Franklin office will refer cases from rural sections of their districts in same manner as those in Dover office. (4) In addition to preparation for the intake conferences in two weeks, Miss Arnold will devote her time to acquainting herself with community resources and introducing the program into the community through representative and leading citizens.

March 9, 1939.—Mr. Eldon in state office to advise Child Welfare Director and consultant that Miss Arnold is well liked and well received by the welfare staff and by persons whom she has met in the community. He highly approves of her appointment as the child welfare worker.

March 15 and 16, 1939.—Intake conferences on cases referred by staff of county welfare office held in Franklin. Twenty-one cases were presented by the Dover visitors for our consideration, and, of this number,

eight were accepted. Of the eight cases accepted, there were three involving children living in boarding-homes and seven other children who, although of the same family, are living in separate homes of relatives. This means that the number of independent family groups with whom Child Welfare Worker will be working in these eight cases is much greater than the number indicates. Some of the cases were accepted on a temporary or slight-service basis and may be returned to the home visitor after a short period of exploratory social study or service, as in the case where we agreed to secure psychiatric diagnosis of an eleven-year-old girl in the first grade.

Four cases were discussed with the workers in the Franklin office, and three were accepted for service. Mr. Eldon attended the Dover conference along with Mr. George, deputy director, but Mr. Martin was the only supervisor present during the Franklin conference. No difficulties were experienced in the intake conferences, and our reasons for accepting and rejecting cases apparently were accepted by supervisors and visitors. Care was taken not to make these decisions appear arbitrary, and a full discussion of each case was encouraged with all members of the conference participating in this. Mr. Eldon informed us that his workers had referred in these two conferences all the outstanding children's cases known to them, and further referrals would depend on children's situations coming to the attention of their workers in families now known to them or in new cases. Further intake conferences were to be arranged at the request of the county welfare staff.

The Dover Chamber of Commerce voluntarily offered the use of one of their rooms for our unit. It was accepted as preferable to the conference room in the city hall because of its smaller size and attractive, decorative details. It is a part of the suite of conference rooms and offices of the Chamber of Commerce across from the county courthouse. Miss Arnold has selected her stenographer after securing adequate references and a satisfactory tryout. Her application has been submitted to the state office for approval, and she will begin her duties this date.

Community organization file.—Miss Arnold, during the last two weeks, has interviewed numerous civic and agency leaders, and has, according to the suggestion given her by child welfare consultant, started a community organization file. She is encouraged by the cordial reception she has received in the county and has been impressed by the awareness of the need for case-work service for children. She has already had three or four cases referred to her from outside sources. It was suggested that she keep her intake at a minimum until she has had an opportunity to start her

work with the eleven cases accepted from the county welfare office which will involve summaries of the county record and, of course, initial social studies. Details of Child Welfare Worker's introductory contact with community leaders will be found in her monthly report. The content and significance of this report were discussed with her by child welfare consultant.⁶

MONTHLY REPORT OF CHILD WELFARE WORKER FOR MARCH, 1939⁷

Community organization.—The first two weeks of the month were devoted to a study of the problems and resources of Clinton County and to an interpretation of the services of the child welfare worker both to the county staff and to representative citizens of the county. Clinton County had been well prepared for the child welfare program before the worker arrived. The county director had obviously extended the interpretation beyond the members of the immediate staff, as a number of persons in the community indicated that they had been anticipating the worker's arrival for a period of several months.

The worker had an opportunity to present the child welfare program at a regular meeting of the Dover City Council when the county director and worker met with them to request office space in the city offices. Members of the Council expressed interest in the program and asked questions regarding the type of work which would be done. Although there was no objection to granting office space, it was suggested that a more desirable room might be obtained from the Chamber of Commerce. Although the county director and worker wished to meet with the directors of the Chamber of Commerce, the meeting was held and the office space made available without presentation of the program by us. One member of the Chamber of Commerce made the statement to the worker that the Chamber of Commerce considered it a privilege to make the space available because of the good effect this gesture would have with some of the persons on relief who have felt that the Chamber of Commerce was not friendly toward them. Worker has a small private office on the second floor. The office opens into a larger room which is also available to worker and which can be completely shut off from other rooms in the building. The Chamber of Commerce has furnished a locked rolltop desk, shelf for

⁶ The consultant's narrative report continues beyond this point in diary fashion, covering each supervisory visit to the county unit. It is omitted here inasmuch as it covers much the same material as that of the county worker and is less detailed.

⁷ It will be noted that the reports of the child welfare worker cover three general topics: "Community Organization," "Case Work," and "County Expenditures," in accordance with the requirements of the state office.

books, table and chairs, and a stenographer's desk. The County Welfare Department has furnished a typewriter and a generous amount of office supplies.

Personal visits have been made to twenty persons connected with schools in the county, to the city officials including the mayors of Dover and Franklin, six physicians, seven ministers, numerous businessmen, and to ten persons connected with the courts, including the probate judge, district judge, the city judge of Franklin, and the sheriff. The worker was invited to a meeting of the Business and Professional Women's Club in Franklin, which afforded an opportunity to meet about twenty-five businesswomen; to a meeting of the American Association of University Women in Franklin, which was attended largely by women connected with the state college, by teachers, and by businesswomen; to a luncheon of the Dover Federation of Women's Clubs, at which about forty Dover women were met.

The probate judge has been co-operative and has assisted in interpreting the worker's function to the Dover city marshal. The judge recognizes the need for someone to make investigations of cases of delinquencies on which no formal complaint is filed, and remarked that he could use a full-time person for such a job. He understands the services which are available, having referred one case direct to the worker and having been indirectly responsible for the referral of two other cases. The county attorney has expressed interest and, on the first visit, referred a case to worker, which indicated his understanding of worker's function. The case happened to be one in Franklin, and it was referred to the American Red Cross, a report being made to the county attorney regarding the referral.

In addition to the talk made before the City Council, worker made a talk to the normal training class in Dover High School, which is composed of Senior students who expect to teach next year. The worker has been requested to speak during the month of April before several groups in the county.

A confidential card file is being maintained containing information regarding the special interests and the reactions of individual persons and organizations. The only person who has not felt the need for the child welfare service program in Clinton County was the minister of X Church in Dover. He knows of no child welfare problems in the county, nor does he feel that there is anything to be done here for children.

Dr. Mary Snyder, wife of a professor at the state college, is a psychiatrist and, although not in active practice because of her family responsi-

bilities, has offered her services on any cases in which worker is interested. Dr. Reynolds, professor of psychology, has offered to make psychometric examinations. Dr. Bruno Snyder, professor of education, has offered to give reading tests on any cases in which such tests are indicated.

There are two or three different groups of boys in Dover who are involved in stealing. Three of the cases referred by the court and one case referred by a parent have involved boys who have broken into buildings to steal. Their ages range from ten to fourteen years. While there are sufficient factors in the family situation in each case to account for the behavior, it has been discovered that there is no recreational program in Dover for either boys or girls. The 4-H clubs serve the rural areas around Dover, but their program has no interest for young persons living within the city. The Hi-Y program connected with the high school does not provide a year-round program and is not sufficiently exciting to attract the type of boys referred to worker. The activities of the Girl Reserves like those of the Hi-Y are limited to the school year with thirty-minute meetings once every two weeks.

On three different occasions there has been a Boy Scout movement in Dover, but there have been no Scout troops here for the last ten or twelve years. Each time they have died out because of lack of leadership. The American Legion was the last organization to sponsor the Boy Scouts in Dover, and, only one month before the child welfare unit was established in this county, the American Legion turned over to the superintendent of schools, for the purchase of a curtain for the high-school auditorium, a \$90 fund which had been earmarked for Scout activities. There is considerable interest at the present time in the development of a Boy Scout movement in Dover, and the community is thoroughly aware of the need for it. Worker has found a young man with years of Scout experience in another community who has agreed to be responsible for getting the movement under way in Dover. It has been suggested that the summer be devoted to developing a Scout committee and to training adult leaders in order that the program can actually begin in the fall on a sound basis. With nine months of Scout activities during the fall and winter of 1939, it should be possible to plan a very active program for the younger boys during the summer months of 1940.

Ten girls in Dover who are interested in a Girl Scout program have requested worker's assistance in finding a leader. The high-school principal thinks that there is no need for a Girl Scout program in the community and that there would not be sufficient interest among the girls themselves. One of the high-school teachers, however, is tremendously interested and

feels that there is a definite need for such a program. Parents in the community are of the same opinion.

Lacking a Boy Scout program for the summer months, it will be necessary to plan an adequate recreational program with other resources. It is believed that possibly something can be worked out through the W.P.A.

The Y.M.C.A. in Franklin has consulted the worker on one occasion, requesting advice on certain aspects of its program, and has offered its co-operation in working with the theater operators in the matter of admitting children of school age to the movies during school hours.

Case work.—An informal agreement was made with the American Red Cross in Franklin and with the Franklin County Welfare Department that worker would confine most of her efforts to the rural sections of the county and limit services in Franklin to cases referred from outside sources, such as schools or courts. In the last month worker was called in for a consultation on three cases in the Franklin Welfare Office and one case in the Dover Office. One of the cases involves a mentally defective woman with three children who have been making a fairly satisfactory adjustment in the home of woman's mother. The latter is at the point of death, and plans need to be made for the future care of the mentally defective mother and her three children. Another case on which advice has been requested is that of a ten-year-old epileptic child who is believed to be in need of institutional care but whose parents object to such care.

The county welfare visitors did not attempt to unload their "chronic" cases on worker but showed an awareness of the type of cases which might be accepted.

Owing to the referral of three cases by the court and one case by the parents, each of which presented a need for immediate attention, it has not been possible to make as much progress with the cases referred by the County Welfare Department as would be desirable. These four cases, however, are W.P.A. employees and are known to the county welfare office.

Three of the cases referred by the County Welfare Department involve health problems, and an effort is to be made to interest two of the parents in preventorium care for the children. Another case involves an orphan boy who lives first with one relative and then with another and is in the need of some stabilizing influence. Six of the cases involve children living with persons other than their own parents.

County expenditures for child welfare services for the month of March, 1939.—The total was approximately \$13.75, including supplies and telephone.

MONTHLY REPORT OF CHILD WELFARE WORKER FOR APRIL, 1939

Community organization.—Less emphasis was placed on community organization as such during the month of April as compared with March, and more attention was devoted to actual case work. It will be difficult, however, to draw a line in this report between these two activities as there was a conscious effort throughout the month to correlate case work and community organization, using the first to determine the direction which the latter should take.

A case conference was held on one case, which involved the removal of four children from their home. The conference was attended by the county director, the deputy county director, the probate judge, the principal of Harding Junior High School, the high-school principal, the attendance officer, Mrs. Harris of the Tuberculosis Association, and the worker. Unfortunately the visitor who had previously carried the case was seriously ill and was unable to be present at the conference. The schools had been especially interested because of the continued truancy of the four children during the entire school year and particularly during recent months. Physical examinations made on each child indicated the advisability of tuberculin tests. Chest X-rays were authorized by Mrs. Harris; X-rays of the two younger children were found to be suspicious. At the conference the county director recommended that the case be presented to the county board requesting authorization to place the children under the supervision of the Children's Home and Aid Society. The director's recommendation was concurred in by all those present at the conference. (The county board gave consideration to this case at their meeting on May 4 and, while recognizing the desirability of carrying out the director's recommendation, felt that the county's financial situation would not permit them to authorize payment of boarding-home care in this case for the long period of time during which it might be necessary.)

Dr. Mary Snyder, psychiatrist, was used as a consultant in connection with the case of a twenty-year-old girl who is manifesting bizarre behavior which is suggestive of mental illness.

Psychometric and diagnostic reading tests were given by Dr. Reynolds of the state college to two children referred by worker. Dr. Reynolds seemed especially pleased to have a brief social history on these cases; such histories had never been prepared for him in the past. A school teacher in Dover has volunteered her services during the summer months to give some special instruction to one of these children, a fourth-grade boy who is unable to read. In the case of an eighth-grade boy who had been referred to worker because of his stealing, the superintendent of the

Dover Schools offered to make all necessary arrangements for a psychometric test by Dr. Reynolds and to take the boy to Franklin at the time of the testing.

Since there seem to be several children in the Dover schools who progress through the grades without being able to read (the eighth-grade boy mentioned above is unable to read even in a primer), worker is planning in the near future to confer with the superintendent regarding possible plans for the early diagnosis of these reading difficulties. Since Dover High School has each year a large normal training class it seems possible that some project might be worked out by which these prospective teachers could acquire some actual teaching experience in giving special assistance on some of these cases under proper academic supervision. This suggestion has been made by worker only recently, and it is not yet possible to determine whether it is practicable and whether it can be carried through.

Progress with reference to the organization of the Boy Scouts has been rather slow. The field representative for the Boy Scouts has made one visit to the community during the month and plans to return in the near future. The ministerial alliance is interested in sponsoring the Scout program. There is some isolated opposition, but it is believed that in the course of time and during the organization period those persons who are "sold" on the program can do enough talking to counteract the opposition.

Of the eleven girls who expressed interest in organizing a Girl Scout troop in Dover, it has been discovered that six are members of the 4-H Club. Before further organization is undertaken, the matter will be cleared with the county club agent.

During April worker made talks before three groups: the P.-T.A. Council in Franklin, the Business and Professional Women's Club in Franklin, and the Legion Auxiliary in Dover. There was no meeting of the Clinton County Mental Hygiene Society during the month. Requests have been received to speak before several organizations during the month of May.

Case work.—In addition to the cases referred to in connection with community organization, attention should be called to two rather interesting referrals.

Following a talk before the Legion Auxiliary, a letter was received from one of the women who had attended requesting that the worker call at her home and talk with her about some of the things which had been discussed in the speech. It was discovered that the writer of the letter was an active A.D.C. recipient. After a conference with Deputy Director, it was

agreed that a home visit would be made by worker without accepting full responsibility for the case at that time. On the first interview the mother introduced a number of problems—the behavior of her son since his return from Legionville, the speech defect of another child (there had been no reference to speech defects in the talk before the auxiliary), her feeling about the acceptance of relief, her relationship with the county visitor, the reduction in her A.D.C. grant owing to limited funds, and her reluctance to approach the Community Fund about certain assistance which she had previously been granted by that organization and which she was again needing. The future handling of this case will be discussed with Child Welfare Consultant.

Worker had been consulting with a visitor in Franklin regarding a case involving an eleven-year-old epileptic girl who is in need of institutional care but whose parents (especially the mother) are unwilling to leave the child in an institution for more than a few days at a time. The visitor had been endeavoring without success to interview the father. At this point one of worker's clients requested an appointment for a friend, the father of the epileptic child. The father had expressed a wish to talk with worker and planned to come to Dover for an interview. An appointment was made but was not kept by the father because he did not have sufficient gas to make the trip. (A death in the family the previous day made another trip necessary.) This case has been cleared with the Deputy Director, and after an interview with the father a decision will be made as to the future responsibility which should be assumed by worker.

One of the first cases referred to the worker involved a child living in the home of an aunt and uncle who did not wish to continue to keep him. They had made application for A.D.C. but were not so much interested in receiving financial aid as in having the child removed. He was one of three children who had been left with various relatives in Clinton County by their father. The father, a legal resident of Cleveland, Ohio, is now employed in Pennsylvania. Relatives caring for the other two children had also made application for financial assistance. Through correspondence with the agency in Pennsylvania, the father has agreed to contribute to the support of his children in the homes of two of the relatives. The Pennsylvania worker has arranged to have the payments made through their office direct to the relatives here. Meantime, the aunt who wished the child removed from her home died unexpectedly in childbirth. Cleveland, Ohio, accepted responsibility for this child, and he was sent there, where plans were to be made for him in the home of a relative.

County expenditures.—Expenditures for office supplies amounted to

approximately \$1.20, and for telephone and telegraph, \$3.47. Expenditures by the Tuberculosis Association on child welfare cases totaled \$12.

MONTHLY REPORT OF CHILD WELFARE WORKER FOR MAY, 1939

During the past month progress has been made with reference to the recreational program in Dover, the worker assuming no active leadership but merely providing a little stimulation and information to local groups, giving them full responsibility for carrying out the program. For example, at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce inquiry was made as to why Dover could not secure a W.P.A. recreational supervisor to develop and supervise a softball program for boys between the ages of eight and sixteen years. (The worker had previously discussed with the W.P.A. the lack of a recreational supervisor in Dover and had been advised that the community had never expressed much interest in having a supervisor and had never found anyone with relief status who could be transferred to the recreational project.) In reply to the inquiry the worker explained the procedure for securing a supervisor and suggested that a committee be appointed to confer with Mr. Eldon, county director, and the W.P.A. regarding the matter. A committee of three was immediately appointed, the mayor and a city councilman being two members of the committee. The worker was requested to make arrangements for the committee to meet with the county director and was invited to attend the meeting. The committee functioned quickly and effectively, and within four days there was definite assurance of a recreational supervisor for the community. The supervisor began work on May 23, 1939. One member of the committee has now approached worker regarding the organization of softball teams for girls.

The procedure used in the development of the Girl Scout organization may be cited as a further example of the way in which local leadership has been stimulated. Girls interested in belonging to the Scouts held several preliminary meetings in the office of the worker. When it was apparent that the girls were in earnest, and after they had given some thought to the question of leadership, a committee of the girls themselves was appointed to find a leader. Through the activities of this committee, the Young Women's Study Club voted to sponsor the organization and appointed a committee of three to assume responsibility for the development of the program during the summer months when the club is inactive. The worker was invited to meet with this committee at its first meeting. The committee is communicating with the national organization and has secured the Deputy County Superintendent of Schools as

leader. Because of opposition expressed by certain persons in the community, the committee is undertaking a publicity program through the local newspaper.

There have been no new developments in the organization of Boy Scouts. With the opening of the municipal swimming pool and the provision for softball, it seems best to delay until August any further efforts toward organization of Boy Scouts.

In the report for April, 1939, reference was made to the reading difficulties presented by a number of the children in the Dover schools. Worker has discussed this problem with the superintendent, who expressed interest in arranging for someone from the state college to test some of these children. He believed that some of the teachers would like to have certain children tested to determine proper grade-placement. This discussion took place during the last two weeks of the school year, and it was then too late to develop any plans for testing before the close of school. Because of the heavy teaching schedule at the college during the summer session, Dr. Reynolds has expressed a wish to do as little testing as possible until next fall. This matter should be followed through with the superintendent next September, at which time some definite arrangements can doubtless be made with Dr. Reynolds.

There is considerable dissatisfaction expressed in the community regarding the Dover public school. One of the study clubs has taken an interest in the school situation, but its recommendations were not accepted by school authorities. Unfortunately, Dover has no P.-T.A. through which the parents and teachers can work together on some of the problems. It is reported that the school officials do not wish to have a P.-T.A. and have discouraged all efforts in this direction. The absence of such an organization makes necessary more direct work with the school officials by the worker; it has further meant that there is no group through whom the child welfare program can be interpreted to the schools and no group to assume leadership in pressing for a more adequate educational program.

Clinton County has no provision for the detention of juvenile delinquents other than in the jails. Recently a fourteen-year-old boy was held in the Franklin jail three days without any charge having been filed against him. The boy is now under the supervision of the worker, and it is believed that, through the handling of this case, it may be possible to interest the county in making other provision for the detention of children.

A number of community resources were utilized during the past month. The boy referred to in the preceding paragraph was seen by Dr. Snyder,

the psychiatrist, who made some helpful recommendations regarding treatment. Among other things, she suggested his enrolment in the industrial arts course at the college high school this summer. The cost of materials for shop work, amounting to approximately \$1.50 or \$2.00, will be paid for by the Business and Professional Women's Club of Franklin. The American Red Cross provided glasses for one child referred by the worker, and it is believed that some definite plan can be worked out with that organization regarding physical examinations and medical care for children who are not covered under the medical plan. The Tuberculosis Association authorized tuberculin tests on four children upon request of the worker. The Legion Auxiliary in Dover is furnishing one quart of milk daily for a child who is considerably underweight. They have also agreed to provide toothbrushes for six children in the same family and to arrange for a physical examination of one of the children. Three children were examined at the Child Guidance Clinic at the State Hospital at Warburton.⁸

Child Health Day was observed at all schools of the county, the County Superintendent of Schools being the May Day chairman for the county. The Child Health Day material which was sent to worker was, therefore, not used. Next year it should be possible to co-operate with the May Day chairman and to make even more extensive plans for the observation of Child Health Day.

Talks before the Dover Chamber of Commerce and the Men's Dinner Club (composed of business and professional men in Dover) afforded an opportunity for general interpretation of the program through the use of a few case stories. At a meeting of the County Federation of Women's Clubs at Davis, attended by about eighty women, an effort was made to give a general interpretation of the program with some emphasis upon boarding-home care. It was felt that this group of women, representing the entire county, might be helpful in promoting interest in a boarding-home program and might be of assistance in the location of boarding-homes. At a Sunday evening service at the Methodist Church in Dover, the Child Welfare Worker used the subject "Children in a Democracy," directing attention to the present White House Conference and attempting to discuss the minimum needs of children as set forth in the Children's Charter in relation to the children of this community.

County expenditures.—Expenditures for office supplies, postage, and telephone amounted to approximately \$5.50. Private agency expenditures on child welfare cases was approximately \$10.40 for the month.

⁸ A service which has been developed in connection with one of the state hospitals for the mentally ill located in a near-by county.

MONTHLY REPORT OF CHILD WELFARE WORKER FOR JUNE, 1939

Upon invitation of Dr. Rogers, Dover dentist, worker attended the meeting of the Regional Dental Association on June 15. The meeting was an extension course offered by the Division of Dental Hygiene of the State Board of Health devoted to the subject of "Child Dentistry and Nutrition." Literature distributed at this meeting included a diagram of the dental health educational plan of the state, showing the plan for dental inspection of school children. The trip with Dr. Rogers provided an opportunity for the discussion of dental inspection in the Dover schools. (Franklin made dental inspections during the last school year.) Inspections were formerly made in Dover, but there was no follow-up work done, and few corrections were made. Dr. Rogers understands that the state has, in the past, placed more stress upon dental inspections in the larger population centers but that in the near future increased attention will be given the problem of inspection in the smaller communities. Since the statute requires annual free dental inspection for all school children, worker will lend her weight toward securing such inspection. Consideration should be given to the responsibility which the child welfare worker might assume in securing corrections for those children whose parents cannot afford this type of care.

The possible need of boarding-homes to be used for convalescent care was discussed with Dr. Denton, pediatrician affiliated with the Lane Clinic in Franklin. Child Welfare Worker had received a report (not a referral) regarding a seven-month-old baby who has been under the care of Dr. Denton. The child weighed only eleven pounds when first seen by the doctor and did not gain on the formula prescribed. The baby was placed in the hospital for one week on the same formula and schedule and gained two pounds. Upon return home the child has again ceased to gain. The relative who reported the case insists that the mother, who is only sixteen years old, makes no effort to carry out the doctor's orders, feeds the child irregularly, and takes it to night ball games. The relative did not feel that worker would be accepted by the mother on her referral. Dr. Denton did not feel that he could refer the case without the consent of the family. He recognizes that the family is unable to afford hospital care for the child and expressed a wish that a convalescent home existed for such cases. We pointed out the possibility of locating boarding-homes for temporary placement of children requiring special physical care. We also discussed the possible service which might be given a child such as this in its own home by frequent visits from the worker, by interpreting the doctor's recommendations to the parents, by assisting the parents in

carrying out the plan, and in bringing to the physician's attention those factors in the family situation which are affecting the treatment. We believe that Dr. Denton, with a little more interpretation, might make use of worker in a case such as this. Further contacts with Dr. Denton should also provide an entree to other physicians at the Lane Clinic.

Mr. A. R. Cooper, recently appointed field representative for the Boy Scouts in the Franklin area, was in Dover on June 19 by request of worker. Mr. Cooper was directed to some of the persons who have expressed interest in the Scout organization and was given assurance of continued interest and co-operation from the worker. It is understood, however, that the responsibility for future organization effort rests with the Boy Scout field representative rather than with worker.

Miss Ruby Johnson, field representative for the State Crippled Children's Commission, spent four days in the county this month. At the suggestion of worker, a special staff meeting was called in Dover in order that Miss Johnson might explain the procedure for securing care for crippled children and answer some of the visitors' questions. Worker also introduced Miss Johnson to the County Superintendent of Schools, who extended an invitation to her to speak at the County Teachers' Institute in August. The teachers, in the past, have not understood the crippled children's program and have not known to whom such cases should be referred. Worker plans to discuss with the County Superintendent the possibility of presenting the Child Welfare Services program at the same institute.

The neglect case involving the Lewis children was heard in the Juvenile Court on June 23, 1939. On the basis of testimony offered by the parents themselves, by the school attendance officer, and by the Child Welfare Worker, the children were found by the court to be dependent and neglected and are to be committed to the state orphanage. The judge remarked that this was the first neglect case heard in his court for a number of years. He was thoroughly co-operative in the handling of this case. The responsibility for lack of action in the past would seem to rest with the workers who have not accepted responsibility for thorough investigation and the production of evidence.

At the request of the American Red Cross, worker attended a conference with the probate judge and the county attorney on a case involving neglect of a child born out of wedlock. This was a case which the American Red Cross had previously wished to refer to worker in order that the mother might be given help with her own problems which, in turn, affected her relationship with her child. The county attorney, almost

simultaneously, referred the case to worker on the grounds that the child was being neglected. Since the case was active with the Red Cross and since the situation appeared to be rather hopeless from a treatment standpoint, it was agreed that the Red Cross would continue with the case. As a result of the conference, Mrs. Anderson accepted responsibility for assembling evidence of neglect and the securing of witnesses. When persons have been found who will offer testimony, the county attorney will sign a complaint alleging neglect.

Commitment papers have been filed on one mentally defective girl, age twelve, for whom the county has been paying boarding-home care for the last two years. Examination at State Hospital Child Guidance Clinic showed the child to be an imbecile, with an I.Q. of 40. The child will be sent to the school for the feeble-minded as soon as her application is accepted.

One new case was referred during the month by two board members of the American Red Cross living in Prairieville. The case involved the alleged neglect of a twelve-year-old adopted girl by her foster-father. The child had been staying in Clinton County, but the father is a resident of Green County and had been receiving assistance there. Several persons were interviewed, and the information secured was forwarded to Green County in order that a more thorough investigation of the facts might be made and appropriate action taken in the juvenile court if indicated.

No work has been done toward the organization of a county-wide Child Welfare Committee. I believe the time is approaching when lay committees are needed, but I would suggest that some local committees be used first on small projects. From the membership of these committees could be selected the members of a more permanent county-wide advisory committee.

The question of intake needs consideration. In the past four months fewer cases have been accepted from the County Welfare Department than from other sources. Of the thirteen cases referred from outside sources, five were referred by the court and two each were referred by school, parents, other individuals, and the Crippled Children's Commission. Of these same cases, four were nonrelief, six had W.P.A. employment, one was an active O.A.A. recipient, one received a veteran's pension, and one involved a child living in the home of an O.A.A. recipient who was in no way related to the child. It is believed that there can be an increasing number of cases handled by worker and the home visitors through consultation, leaving worker free to accept more referrals from outside sources. If this relationship as a consultant is maintained, I be-

lieve it will be necessary to set up some record on these cases for the purpose of control, supervision, and evaluation by the State Child Welfare Consultant.

I believe that the case load in this unit should not exceed twenty-five cases per month for the next several months, in order to afford more time for the development of boarding-homes and the carrying-on of some community organization projects. In Dover there are a number of groups interested in child welfare and in the carrying-on of some projects. It is believed that the available resources and effort might be used to greater advantage if the various programs were tied into a more comprehensive plan based upon an analysis of the resources and needs of Dover. It is possible that a study of local resources might be undertaken by one or more of the study clubs or civic organizations.

There seems to be a need in Dover for supervised dances, the parents of many children refusing to permit their attendance at dances in the two public dance halls. Two girls, ages fifteen and twelve, in an active case are reported, by their father, to attend public dances unescorted.

It is rumored that there are one or more groups of boys in Dover, of junior-high and high-school age, engaging in homosexual practices under adult leadership. It is suggested that this problem might be dealt with indirectly through a program of sex education in connection with the schools or related activities such as the Hi-Y.

There is a change in the Dover school superintendent. Mr. Rex Curtis has been elected to succeed the present superintendent, who accepted a position on the faculty of the college. It will therefore be necessary to begin anew the discussion of plans for psychometric testing of certain students in the Dover schools.

In Franklin it is suggested that the P.-T.A. be given responsibility in securing the co-operation of the theaters in the matter of admitting children of school age to the movies during school hours.

County expenditures for child welfare services.—County expenditures during the month of June amounted to approximately \$3.60.

The American Legion Auxiliary gave assistance on child welfare cases amounting to \$4.00. The American Red Cross authorized a pediatrician to make a thorough physical examination of one child, including all laboratory tests necessary for a diagnosis. The amount of expenditure for this examination is not known.

NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

CRUELITIES OF THE ILLINOIS THREE-YEAR SETTLEMENT PROVISIONS

THOSE who wish to "return relief to the states" may well take notice and warning of the reactionary state poor-law amendments and the refined cruelties of local relief administration. All over the country progress has been backward and not forward since the federal government in 1935 left the states and localities to carry on their share of the relief programs independently.

The hardships of last year's three-year residence requirement in the Illinois poor law¹ comes home in the suffering of families and individuals refused both food and shelter. No assistance can be given to any person who has not resided in the responsible local administrative area—township, county, or city of Chicago—for three years immediately preceding his application for relief, and the interpretation of the words "immediately preceding" has been rigid and harsh since the revised law went into effect. Legal advisers of the relief authorities, and not social workers, are to be charged with the strained legal decisions that have left clients without greatly needed food and shelter. Families refused help because of lack of residence are now left to such help as the private charities are willing to give. What happens in the areas and in small towns where there are no private charities, no one wants to know. The private agencies in Chicago do not want to be relief agencies any more, and they have a right to decide their own policies. If the private charities do not help, the public agency case workers (and they are good case workers who do their best to help their unfortunate clients) do not know where to turn.

For example, Mr. and Mrs. Brown and their three minor children had been known to public relief agencies almost from the beginning of the depression until April, 1938, when Mr. Brown received a W.P.A. assignment. In July, 1939, he left W.P.A. for private employment, but it was a short job which lasted only to August, 1939. The family was evicted, and in September, 1939, Mrs. Brown and the children hitch-hiked to the home of her sister in a small town in Wisconsin. What the trip meant to her can be seen from the record, which shows that she had a thyroid condition, was lame as the result of infantile paralysis,

¹ See above, p. 290.

and "walks with the greatest difficulty." Mrs. Brown and the children remained with her sister until January, 1940, being occasionally visited by Mr. Brown. In the meantime, however, he was looking for work, and when he found a little job in January his family returned. In March Mrs. Brown applied for assistance because the little job was not only gone but Mr. Brown had deserted for the first time because he was "utterly discouraged" and just couldn't stand seeing them all so hungry. The family had starved a good part of the time since the return from Wisconsin, but Mr. Brown had "managed to get money by begging or odd jobs so they got along somehow." Acceptance of the application was questioned. The period during which they were in Wisconsin did not comply with the requirement of three years' residence immediately preceding application. The private agencies would not take responsibility, and in April, 1940, the status of the application was still unsettled. The mother and youngest child were staying with friends, the two older children were each with friends, and the school wrote that the oldest boy was in rags. The record states that further disposition would depend upon additional information from Wisconsin.

Mr. and Mrs. Alamo and their eight children had lived in X Township, Illinois, from 1928 to June, 1939, when Mr. Alamo secured work with the Rock Island Railroad and was transferred to Chicago. The job lasted only five months, and it was not long before the family were terribly "down and out" and asking for assistance. The application was rejected, and Mr. Alamo applied to X Township. X Township wrote that it had given groceries and fuel to last until January, 1940, because "this family was at the point of starvation but X Township is unable to acknowledge or deny legal responsibility for relief residence because of the interpretation of the Chicago attorneys of the three-year law."

Mr. Knight, an elderly man, left Chicago in July, 1939, to visit his brother in Milwaukee. A few weeks later he became seriously ill with heart trouble and was admitted to Milwaukee General Hospital. The Milwaukee Department of Out-door Relief wrote requesting authorization for his return to Chicago, where he had lived and worked for nineteen years. Transportation Division of the Chicago Relief Administration verified his residence for three years to April, 1939, but could not determine where he had been from April to July, 1939. Authorization for return was refused as his residence for three years "immediately preceding" his application could not be established. However, the Milwaukee authorities did not intend to care for a sick man who had been living in Chicago for nearly twenty years. In spite of the fact that the Chicago authorities refused to accept his care, Milwaukee put him on a train and wired to Chicago to meet him with an ambulance as he would require continued hospitalization. Fortunately, the County is still charged with the duty of providing for the sick nonresident poor and the County, not the Chicago Relief Administration, therefore accepted responsibility for his care.

The Transportation Division has a difficult time explaining its position to similar agencies in different parts of the country. In a letter of April, 1940, the division explained as follows: "The question of settlement in Illinois is based solely on the old common law conception of domicile. Consequently, the loss of domicile in Illinois is not controlled by any period of time but is rather controlled by the person's intention and physical presence." This legal interpretation of a law that is probably unconstitutional is not very useful since it really means "nothing and everything."

Mr. and Mrs. Henry and their son William, aged four, had all been born in Chicago, where they made their home until the spring of 1938, when they moved to a neighboring state. They were unsuccessful in establishing a small business there and applied for relief the following August. In response to a request the Chicago authorities authorized their return as residents and they came back in January, 1939. They received assistance until May, when Mr. Henry secured work as a gardener. In December he was again unemployed and applied for assistance. The application was rejected on the ground that in moving into another state "the family had complied with the necessary requirements of the acquisition of new domicile. They had lost Chicago residence, and they did not resume residence in Chicago until their return. They had not been resident the required three years immediately preceding application." At the time of application there was no food in the home, one bucket of coal was left, rent was in arrears, and Mrs. Henry was seven months pregnant. She had paid \$8 of a \$10 clinic delivery fee and "begged that at least \$2 be granted her so as to insure her care at time of delivery." This was refused. On January 17 Mr. and Mrs. Henry appeared in the office and said they intended to make a scene that would result in their arrest and then "the children would be given food and Mrs. Henry would be sure of care." The Salvation Army "accepted the case."

Mr. and Mrs. James and their three young children were all born in Chicago. They were known to relief agencies for seven years prior to August, 1939. Then Mr. James was offered a job in an adjoining township. The family knew the work was temporary but they were eager to be independent, if only for a short period, and after discussing the matter with the case worker, Mr. James took the job. The family went to the new township after storing their furniture in Chicago. But unfortunately the position lasted only a month, and Mr. James then asked assistance, which was denied. Authorization to return the family to Chicago was requested but was refused. The Legal Department of the Chicago Relief Administration ruled that Mr. James had left with intent to make the new township his home and had established his children in school. In December the family was shipped to Chicago by truck, and Mr. James applied for relief. The application was not accepted because the return was not authorized, the family had not been in Chicago for three years immediately preceding the ap-

plication and they had left with intent to establish a home elsewhere. When the family reapplied in January there was neither food nor fuel in the home, and the children had been having only one meal a day for some time. Mr. James had stolen food for them. He had long been under care of the Municipal Tuberculosis Clinic and was again coughing badly. Mrs. James was diabetic. The family refused to leave the office until assured of food for the children. This time the United Charities accepted the family.

These are typical cases presenting some very common problems. Persons who have lived many years in Chicago leave for a brief period outside of the state and their return cannot be authorized; or they return but have lost eligibility for relief without establishing a settlement elsewhere. In a leading Illinois poor-law case decided more than seventy-five years ago during the Civil War (*Payne v. Dunham*, 29 Ill. 125) the supreme court of Illinois said, "There is one principle which seems to be universal in the construction and application of the poor laws, both in this country and in England, and that is, that a person having a legal settlement in one place, that settlement continues until he acquires a legal settlement in another place in the state." But the Illinois of today is full of people who no longer have any settlement anywhere in spite of the fact that the Illinois Supreme Court of Lincoln's day had ruled that this was impossible. The establishment of residence and eligibility for relief is now on a township basis, and it is possible for a person who has lived all his life in one county to be ineligible for relief because he has moved to a different township in the same county within the three years preceding his application; or a person may never have left Chicago but still be ineligible because he cannot prove by "verifiable evidence" that he was where he claimed to be. Men's memories are fallible, and landlords do not always keep records. The social workers in the Transportation Division are eager to give an enlightened service but where formerly they could relieve the nonresident poor they now are prohibited from so doing. They face an impossible and heart-breaking task.



Fitzpatrick in the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch"

APRIL FOOL ISN'T FUNNY ANY MORE



Fitzpatrick in the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch"

SUBJECT OF THE SPECIAL SESSION

HATCH BILLS: LARGE AND SMALL

SENATOR HATCH of New Mexico, a member of the majority party, has earned the commendation of all groups who are opposed to the misuse of party patronage. His important act of 1939 was passed as a result of the report of the Campaign Expenditure and Investigation Committee of the Senate. This report showed the extent to which officials handling federal funds were subject to intimidation or were able to subject others to coercion. Last year's act was the subject of a two weeks' heated debate in the Senate last month when an amendment extending prohibitions against political activity to state and local employees paid in whole or in part from federal funds was up for consideration. The new Hatch bill specifically forbids coercion or assessment of federal employees for political purposes and prohibits political activity in campaigns by all employees in this group who are beneath the rank of policy-making officials, except for the casting of their own vote and participation in meetings as a spectator. Under the new bill the prohibitions of last year's act would be extended to the large number of state and local employees who draw any part of their pay from federal funds. The Civil Service Commission is designated as the enforcing agency, and its regulations for civil-service conduct as applied to federal employees have been placed in the bill. Provisions are made for the commission to hold public hearings on complaints and for a review of its decisions in the federal district courts. Violation of the political section brings with it dismissal of the offending employee and a penalty on the state of twice the amount of the salary of each offending employee.

While the bill was up for discussion in the Senate, the opposition (largely of the party in power) tried every possible legislative trick to kill or sidetrack the bill, but a firm majority finally brought it to a successful vote in the Senate and sent it to the House. Amendments were proposed in the Senate which, had they not been defeated, would in the words of Senator Hatch "cut the heart" out of the current law and the new bill; charges of unconstitutionality on the basis of invasion of states' rights have been vigorously advanced. But as a *New York Times* editorial of March 13, 1940, points out:

The argument that the new Hatch bill would infringe States' rights does not bear serious examination. As Senator Barkley has declared, the new bill "does not coerce the States. It merely prevents them from doing with their own employees, paid with federal money, what federal employees themselves cannot do." When the Federal government contributes funds to the States,

it certainly has every right to specify the conditions under which its money should be spent. The new Hatch bill is a logical corollary to its predecessor. Its passage should substantially reduce a serious political evil.

Opposition to the new Hatch bill can largely be attributed to the fact that the original act is accomplishing the purpose for which it was intended. The extension of its principles to state and local employees is being opposed because it would hamper the coercive efforts of the state machines. Although the bill passed the Senate by the encouraging vote of 58 to 28 there is little hope that it will pass in the House. House opponents, it is reported, will endeavor to keep it tied up in the Judiciary Committee, in whose hands it rests at the time we go to press. However, a determined effort will continue in the hope that the Committee can be made to report the bill out.

On May 2 the *New York Times* said editorially that the House Committee on the Judiciary had done

a poor day's work yesterday—a poor day's work for itself, the public and the whole method of democratic government—when it used its power to shelve the Hatch bill for the remainder of the session, without even so much as permitting a day's debate on it on the floor of the House of Representatives. Long discussion in the Senate, which ultimately gave its approval of this measure, has made the public thoroughly familiar with its purpose and its contents. It is intended to establish, in the case of a great army of State employees paid in whole or in part with Federal money, the same prohibitions against pernicious political activities—coercion, assessment of funds, etc.—which are already applied in the case of some 270,000 Federal employees.

As the *Times* said, very emphatically, there is “an obvious need of such a measure,” in order to “prevent the building of political machines within individual States on the basis of money contributed by Federal taxpayers.” If the Committee wanted to help in the good cause of “making democracy work better,” the Committee would have reported out the new Hatch Bill for discussion in the House. It may be that members interested in its passage will still be successful in their appeal to the Rules Committee, which may bring the bill out. But the outlook is dark.

In the meantime, however, the New York Legislature passed a “little Hatch bill.” Governor Lehman signed this bill without comment. The New York bill prohibits the use of relief funds, or the intimidation of relief workers, or the solicitation of campaign funds from people on relief in elections for state offices. New York's “little Hatch bill” provides for a fine of not more than \$1,000, or a jail sentence of not more than a year,

or both, for violation of the act. The New York Legislature, however, rejected at the same session a bill "which would have barred all political activities by State officeholders, as the Federal Hatch bill does for the Federal officeholders."

THE OUTLOOK FOR IMMIGRATION, NATURALIZATION AND ANTI-ALIEN BILLS IN CONGRESS

THERE is a flood of something over two hundred immigration and naturalization bills of various kinds in Congress, and probably eighty of these bills are very dangerous anti-alien measures. In addition there are also something like two hundred private bills. The article in this issue of the *Review* by Mrs. Rich of the Chicago Immigrants' Protective League shows the hardships suffered by aliens now in this country who have been hard-working, respected members of our American communities, but for whom the difficulties of naturalization—especially the present expenses of naturalization—have been insuperable.

The number of private bills is unusual. But since the Secretary of Labor has no discretion, and deportations are mandatory even in cases of great hardship, and since there is no probability of any present change mitigating the hardships of the law, the only way to protect the alien, who is here and for whom leaving is extremely cruel, is by special act of Congress in behalf of that single individual. The Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago, for example, has sponsored something like a dozen of these private bills, and other agencies have followed the same policy, since the harsh effects of immigration deportations are especially cruel in times like the present. Other private bills are sponsored by friends and relatives who persuade members of Congress to introduce them. This is, of course, an unsatisfactory method of dealing with questions of this kind. We have a government of laws, not of men, and we should have laws that can be carried out without the inequities from which these aliens and their families now suffer. If Congress could give discretion to a board operating in the Department of Labor, this would be a very noteworthy reform at the present time.

The Secretary of Labor, speaking in California this winter, dealt with the plight of the Los Angeles mother who can be deported to Canada under the law because of "illegal entry," leaving her American-born children in the United States. The Secretary said that the Department of

Labor had received something like five hundred letters from the people of California about this case, which has been so frequently referred to in the press. The mother has not yet been deported, but although she is still here, "as a matter of law she is an illegal entry." The newspapers report that Miss Perkins said:

People write me it's absurd. I think it's absurd, too, but we in the department have no discretion. There is an urgent necessity to develop some kind of discretion with somebody, either in the department or in a board. We need some common sense.

The President vetoed one deportation bill on April 8th, and this veto may well have a deterrent effect on others. In his veto message he said that he was fully in accord with the general theory of the bill in so far as it provided that the government should be empowered to deal firmly and effectively with persons guilty of espionage or sabotage. But a bill had already been approved that substantially increased the maximum penalties that may be imposed on persons convicted of such crimes. He thought that ample authority was already available for the deportation of aliens guilty of such activities, and he thought that further legislation on this subject appeared to be "unnecessary and superfluous." With regard to the "anti-narcotic" provisions of the bill the President said he had no criticism of the section relating to those aliens who, at any time, have been convicted of a violation of any federal or state narcotic law. But he objected to provisions requiring the mandatory deportation of the aliens who, at any time, either before or after the passage of the act, had been lawfully committed to a public or private institution as habitual users of narcotic drugs.

The President pointed out that "while severe treatment should properly be meted out to purveyors of narcotics," he thought that deportation should not be required for the "unfortunate addicts of drugs, who do not participate in peddling them to others. Addiction to narcotics is to be regarded as a lamentable disease, rather than as a crime."

The President thought it was not clear "why aliens who acquire this weakness should be singled out for deportation." He thought the "rigor and harshness" of this provision might "result in hardship not commensurate with the benefits to be derived from this legislation by the community." Social workers will approve this veto.

REFUGEES IN SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

THE recent article in the *New York Nation* (April 27, 1940) by Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard on the impact of the Scandinavian conflict on the refugee situation is of special interest. Mr. Villard thinks

there is no worse phase of the German invasion of Denmark and Norway than that it places in jeopardy thousands of refugees from Germany who have sought sanctuary in those peaceful and unoffending countries. Sweden in particular has been most generous in opening its doors to men and women whose sole sin is that by accident of birth they are not 100 per cent Aryan, and to political fugitives as well.

That is, although in the last few years very large numbers of refugees have been given protection in the Scandinavian countries, this protection can no longer be counted on and will in the future be increasingly difficult to provide.

Mr. Villard also writes that the German capture of Denmark was so sudden that few of the refugees there could have escaped before the Nazis came in. Finally, Mr. Villard's opinion regarding the present outlook is very important. He writes:

The German exiles in Norway are now no doubt tortured by fear of being thrown into prison. The many in Sweden must also be frantic to make their escape. I am thinking, for example, of a German Aryan who refused from the beginning to resign himself to the persecution of the Jews and who was so active in helping them to get out of the country that finally he was himself compelled to flee to Sweden. For some time past friends in this country, some of whom owe their safety to him, have been trying to bring him here, but the obstacle of quota regulations has been as yet unsurmountable. One shudders to think what will befall this gallant spirit if he falls into the hands of the Germans.¹

The plight of the refugees who are now scattered through the different countries of Europe seems to be increasingly tragic. Under our present American quota system, no one can emigrate to the United States from such countries as were once described as Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and even Germany and Austria, who has not been registered for a vacant place on the quota for a period of nearly three years. For some of these national groups a wait of five years is necessary. However, there are still preference quota visas being issued from many countries; and quite large numbers of immigrants, including refugees, are still coming to Ellis Island in spite of the present difficulties of the ocean-crossing. Not only are many of the refugees separated from

¹ *Nation*, April 27, 1940, p. 540.

their families, but they do not, in fact, know where their families are, and report only that their husbands or brothers are "fugitives" somewhere. All of them are separated from their old homes, their old friends, and all that they once cherished in life. In a world that is increasingly filled with grief, the plight of the refugees continues to be the most bitter of all, and every social worker who can help any of these fugitives to adjust to a new life in America is eager to give this service.

CONGRESS TO INVESTIGATE MIGRANTS

APPARENTLY the Voorhis bills (H.R. 2974 and H.R. 2975) to provide for migratory laborers which have been so long in the Ways and Means Committee are scheduled not to pass. The House of Representatives, however, has made some concessions by a practically unanimous vote to authorize the appointment of a special committee to investigate the problem of migratory labor and recommend legislation for the rehabilitation of homeless families.

Congressmen John H. Tolan (Democrat, California), who sponsored this plan, said the situation was so acute that it could not be ignored with safety. Mr. Tolan said that twenty-seven different agencies were "now pecking away" at the problem but making no headway in its solution. These uprooted people, Mr. Tolan said, are "not 'bundle stiffs' or congenital hoboes, but Americans who have been driven from the land by machines and heartless landowners."

Mr. Tolan is right in thinking that the problem is not confined to California and the west coast states. In Colorado there is trouble with sugar-beet workers; in Georgia, with fruit-, truck-, and berry-workers who are in the migrant group; in New Jersey and Florida the vegetable-pickers are in need of help.

"The fact is," as Mr. Tolan said, "desperate, hungry people flock into any state where crops are grown, eager to obtain any job at any wages offered."

Congressman Gearhart (Democrat, California) participated in the discussion. Labor contractors, he said, recently went down into the Imperial Valley of California and offered enticing inducements, including good wages and decent habitation to migrants to pick a spinach crop of Alameda County, although there was sufficient local labor to do the job.

Hundreds of migrants who traveled more than 500 miles to Alameda

County were compelled to wait two weeks without food or shelter from the farmers before they were employed. By that time, Congressman Gearhart said, they were so starved and desperate they were willing to accept "very low wages." After a few days' work they were turned adrift, hungry and penniless, and their camp destroyed as a "menace to health." Although action in behalf of transients rather than an investigation of their condition is needed at the present time, it is good news that a congressional committee will at least study the problem.

IMPROVEMENTS IN PRISON ARCHITECTURE

THOSE interested in the reform of prison architecture received encouragement last fall when Mr. Alexander Paterson, the English prison commissioner, was in this country after an absence of eight years. One of the changes during this time about which he commented after revisiting a series of institutions he had seen on his previous visit was the great improvement in the new prisons that had been built. Writing in *Correction*, the official organ of the New York Department of Correction, Mr. Paterson said:

The outstanding impression on revisiting some of the prisons in the states is the discovery that those in charge of them, with the help of distinguished architects, have dared to challenge an assumption that has held good in nearly all the prisons of the world for thousands of years. The assumption is that Prison and Beauty are contradictory terms, and that the latter therefore has no place in the former. The old dictum of Plato that if young men grow up among beautiful sights, they will have beautiful ideas has been forgotten for centuries, or if remembered has never been applied to prisons. In the construction of such places as Wallkill, Lewisburg and Bordentown, the pioneers have boldly thrown down the gage and challenged the old assumption. They have brought beauty into prison buildings, not increasing thereby the expense of their erection, but adding immeasurably to their effect. Auditoria, dining halls, libraries and cloisters, surrounding a grassy quad, breathe the spirit of an ancient college or monastery. They will have a marked effect on the conduct, bearing and conversation of the men. It is a great adventure, this marshalling of gangsters under Gothic arches. The prison very largely decides the type of prisoner. A featureless fortress makes the tough a bit tougher. Who knows what beauty may do for a man who has not yet sold his soul to ugliness.¹

¹ Attention is called to this in the March, 1940, *Welfare Bulletin* of the Illinois State Department of Public Welfare.

LONDON'S EVACUATED CHILDREN

AMERICAN social workers have been much interested in the great evacuation schemes carried out abroad and the many social problems which they have created; and there has, of course, been special interest in the London evacuation of children and mothers last September and the stories of the return of large numbers of evacuated children to urban areas where the schools were closed. The following comments from an editorial in the official organ of the British National Council for Maternity and Child Welfare and its constituent societies¹ will be of interest. The British government in February announced a scheme for re-evacuation, and the question is whether there is to be a re-evacuation scheme for mothers as well as children. The editorial comments in this excellent English journal are as follows:

... There have been many critics of the evacuation scheme of September 1939. There have been many who say that the scheme has been a failure. Now there are many who feel perturbed to think that the re-evacuation scheme—should such be called for—includes no provision whatever for mothers and children under five years of age. It is, indeed—as announced—limited to school children only.

The plans originally made last year provided for the evacuation of three million women and children, of whom one and a half million were school children. When the time came, less than 50 per cent. of the parents were willing to let their children go—a circumstance which, naturally, has had to be taken into account in planning for further evacuation.

It is quite expected that there will be a demand for evacuation if air raids on an extensive scale were to occur. The Government has announced that it will order evacuation if—and only if—air raids develop on a scale involving serious and continuing perils to the civilian population. The arrangements made to meet such an eventuality are, at present, limited to the evacuation of school children only. Local authorities are asked to register school children whose parents desire them to go. While evacuation will remain on a voluntary basis, parents registering their children for evacuation will be asked to sign an undertaking that they will send their children with the school party if evacuation is ordered. They will also have to sign a statement that they intend to leave their children in the reception areas until the party returns. No child is to be sent out under the Government's evacuation scheme who is suffering from a condition of disease or uncleanness, which the medical officer would regard as necessitating exclusion from school. This is a very important provision, designed to safeguard against some of the happenings attributed to the original evacuation.

¹ *Mother and Child*, X (March, 1940), 405.

Any child found on arrival at its reception area to be suffering from infection or disease (such as scabies, impetigo or serious conditions of uncleanness) will have to be the subject of special arrangements by the receiving authorities, who are to see that such children are not billeted on householders whilst in a dirty or infectious condition.

In regard to billeting, while the fullest possible use is to be made of the camps provided by the Government, the accommodation available in this way is inevitably limited, and the bulk of the accommodation required will be secured through billets in private houses.

To provide for children who are unsuitable for private billeting, each receiving authority is being asked to arrange that hostels will be available sufficient to receive about 5 per cent. of the total number of children due to the area. Local authorities are also being encouraged to set up hostels to act as clearing houses for children who have to be temporarily removed from their billets—for example, owing to illness in the householder's family—thus being prepared to meet another emergency. It is evident that the experience of the original evacuation, and its consequences and accompaniments, has borne fruit, and that any new evacuation undertaken should be safeguarded by the arrangements planned.

There are still, in the reception areas, more than 400,000 school children, who were evacuated in September 1939—a figure which should be realised and appreciated by those who criticise the evacuation scheme adversely. Billeting allowances are to be paid by the Government for all school children of 14 years and over—the sum of 10s. 6d. per week per child is offered. This allowance is to be available also in respect of unaccompanied school children evacuated under private arrangement after August 31st, 1939, and also to unaccompanied children under school age, evacuated under private arrangements. These payments will be made for children of families of the same income as those who are at present receiving special consideration under the Government scheme.

Why has the Government made no arrangements for the prospective evacuation of mothers and their young children? The 400,000 referred to above as still residing in the receiving areas are school children. There has been, as we know, a tremendous return of mothers, and children accompanied by their mothers, to their home areas—which has made many people come to the hasty conclusion that the evacuation scheme itself was a failure.

While it is quite true that this enormous return of mothers and their very young children has taken place, before criticising the original scheme as a failure, one needs to look into the whole matter and appreciate the reasons that have led so many mothers to go back home. It is obvious that had dangerous air raids occurred in the early days of war, there would have been no such early or immediate return, but, as the days and weeks went by without any serious air raids over the evacuated areas, a certain sense of security in the evacuated areas developed, and mothers, under pressure of other factors, decided to return to their own homes.

The financial question entered into the situation. Could the family income meet the cost of repayment of the billeting moneys? The husband question: How was the father getting on alone at home? Anxiety in regard to their husband's well-being, and sometimes in regard to the husband's fidelity, has played a great part in determining the mother's actions. The breaking up of family life has had to be repaired. The personal question: Mothers transferred from town to country found themselves unequal to the task of adaptation to new environment. Sometimes they had no share in the domestic life of their new homes, and, with the days unoccupied, time on their hands, they became disturbed, out of tune with life, resentful and, in the end, returned to their own homes. It is no easy matter to transfer women from their own homes to other neighbourhoods and to establish them in these new neighbourhoods and under new conditions of life, happily and contentedly.

These observations are matters of generalisation. They are obvious explanations as to why many mothers returned from the reception areas. Each individual mother who has returned has had her own reasons for doing so, reasons which may or may not come under the groups of reasons indicated, and many a mother has returned only after a real personal endeavour to decide what was the best line of action for her to take. There have been, and are, the incorrigibles, the irresponsibles, the women who have utterly failed in the evacuation scheme, but these utter failures, though they may have been the despair of billeting officers and of householders, of local authorities and of maternity welfare workers, are not representative women. They are the exceptions rather than the majority.

The evacuation of mothers, and with mothers their babies and young children, is bound to be a more difficult matter to organise than the evacuation of school children. Indeed, in the light of first experience, it looks as if it is such a difficult matter that the Government cannot face a scheme for re-evacuation of this section of the community. The maternity and child welfare worker, however, cannot look calmly upon such a situation. In the event of serious air raids breaking out, the need will come again for helping mothers and young children to meet the crisis. If the Government cannot undertake to have a scheme ready to meet such an emergency, surely the maternity and child welfare workers will be prepared.

This is not the time to cavil at the past scheme—the scheme which some think to have been an entire failure. This is the time to learn from the past and to see how the experience of the early months of war will enable us to make better preparations to meet the eventualities of the coming months. . . .

Whilst we urge the voluntary societies to be ready with their own plans to help in an emergency, we cannot feel that the Government will long be content to leave out of its scheme arrangements for the evacuation of mothers and children under five.

A NEW MONOGRAPH ON THE ILLINOIS RELIEF
ADMINISTRATION

THE *Review* is glad to announce the publication of Dr. Frank Glick's new monograph on *The Illinois Emergency Relief Commission*. Dr. Glick was secretary of the Illinois Welfare Commission when the depression made necessary the development of an emergency state relief administration. Dr. Glick was immediately loaned to the new administration, and for three years he continued to serve as the Commission's associate executive director, with Mr. Wilfred Reynolds as executive director of the I.E.R.C. Dr. Glick is at present director of the new School of Social Work at the University of Nebraska, which has now been admitted to membership in the American Association of Schools of Social Work. Since he has had time to look back over the work of the Commission, he has prepared this new study of the Commission's work, which the *Review* is glad to announce as one of the new "Social Service Monographs."¹ Our traditional policy of not reviewing our own books is continued. We congratulate Dr. Glick on completing this study even if we cannot undertake to present an adequate review of it.

SOCIAL WORKERS AND TITLE II OF THE SOCIAL
SECURITY ACT

THE A.A.S.W., with various other organizations, has been active in trying to bring our social service employees under the provisions of Title II of the Social Security Act (Old Age and Survivors' Benefits), from which employees of nonprofit organizations are so unfairly excluded. Mrs. O'Day, representative in Congress from New York, has sponsored the bill (H.R. 8118), which the A.A.S.W. has always supported, giving complete coverage for the employees of nonprofit agencies. However, the April number of the *Compass* reports that Mrs. O'Day's measure will have very little chance of passing at this session because of continued opposition of the kind which killed it last year.

Attention is called to the fact that another bill (S. 3579) has been introduced in the Senate by Senator Walsh of Massachusetts to effect a compromise.

The *Compass* properly emphasizes the fact that since the important changes last year in the Social Security Act, which made Title II much

¹ Published by the University of Chicago Press. Pp. xv+247. \$1.00. Planographed. Paper.

more liberal, "nonprofit agencies are discovering that they cannot afford to be excluded, particularly as they will soon be severely handicapped in securing staff. . . . Early action is also recognized as urgent since each year adds further handicaps to the status of those not included."

Among national agencies working for legislation to include the employees of nonprofit agencies, the *Compass* lists, in addition to the A.A.S.W., the American Hospital Association, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association of America, National Recreation Association, Community Chests and Councils, Inc., the Social Service Employees Union, Camp Fire Girls, Catholic Hospital Association, Child Welfare League of America, Family Welfare Association of America, Jewish Welfare Board, National Association of Day Nurseries, National Federation of Settlements, National Probation Association, National Travelers Aid Association, National Conference of Catholic Charities, the Salvation Army, and the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness.

REGISTRATION IN THE SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK

SOCIAL workers are always interested in the annual report on registrations in the professional schools of social work. The *Report* for November, 1939, has just been issued by Dr. Marion Hathway, secretary of the Association of Schools of Social Work. The *Report* relates only to the member schools of the association as of last November. A few tables summarizing this *Report* and comparing it with the reports of previous years are presented here. Table 1 shows the number of full-time graduate students registered in the accredited schools on November 1, 1939. There were thirty-seven accredited schools last year, but eight of these had fewer than twenty-five graduate students each, and two had fewer than ten students. The *Report* continues to omit the total number of full-time graduate students enrolled during the academic year. The table of annual registrations in the *Report* includes an undetermined number of undergraduate students who clearly ought not to be included with the graduate group.

The graduate enrolment in the schools has increased almost 25 per cent since the great period of expansion during the F.E.R.A. period. There is, moreover, ground for encouragement in the substantial increase in the number of students who have received higher degrees. Table 2 shows for the last seven years an increase of more than 140 per cent in the number of

students who have completed a curriculum in graduate work and have received either a higher degree or a diploma or certificate. The term "higher degree" here includes the A.M. and Sc.M. degrees, Ph.D. de-

TABLE 1
FULL-TIME STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK
NOVEMBER 1, 1932-39

YEAR	NUMBER OF FULL-TIME GRADUATE STUDENTS		
	Total	Men	Women
(NOVEMBER 1)			
1939.....	2,417	581	1,836
1938.....	2,147	491	1,656
1937.....	1,985	381	1,604
1936.....	1,864	359*	1,501*
1935.....	1,797	302	1,435
1934.....	1,940	402	1,538
1933.....	1,015	156	859
1932.....	936	153	783

* Incomplete because of "not reported" items.

TABLE 2
STUDENTS GRANTED HIGHER DEGREES IN SOCIAL WORK, 1932-39

YEAR	GRAND TOTAL	HIGHER DEGREES			DIPLOMAS OR CERTIFICATES		
		Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
1938-39.....	1,159	612	156	456	547	100	447
1937-38.....	998	598	149	449	400	71	329
1936-37.....	828	445	114	331	383	65	318
1935-36.....	763	354	70	284	409	56	353
1934-35.....	528	239	33	206	289	38*	215*
1933-34.....	420	150	22	128	270	31	239
1932-33.....	475	189	30	159	286	34	252

* Incomplete because of "nonreported" items.

gree, and the professional degrees of M.S.W. and M.S.S. The increase in the number of men receiving either a higher degree or a diploma continues to be very significant.

The number of students receiving the baccalaureate degree in social work continues to show a decline instead of an increase. The number re-

ceiving an A.B. or Sc.B. degree in the last six years is as follows: in 1932-33, 255; in 1933-34, 299; in 1934-35, 312; in 1935-36, 413; in 1936-37, 226; in 1937-38, 222; in 1938-39, 206. A decline in the number of these

TABLE 3
GRADUATE STUDENTS REGISTERED IN SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK
NOVEMBER 1, 1932-39

YEAR	TOTAL		FULL TIME		PART TIME	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
(NOVEMBER 1)						
1939.....	1,021	3,584	581	1,836	440	1,748
1938.....	919	3,499	491	1,656	428	1,843
1937.....	714*	3,356*	381	1,604	333*	1,752*
1936.....	740*	3,360*	359*	1,501*	381*	1,859*
1935.....	692	3,278	362	1,435	330	1,843
1934.....	703	3,207	402	1,538	301	1,669
1933.....	304	1,677	156	859	148	818
1932.....	244	1,325	153	783	91	542

* Incomplete because of "not reported" items.

TABLE 4
SCHOOL REGISTRATION, AUTUMN TERM, 1938
THROUGH SUMMER SESSION, 1939

Number of Students	Number of Schools
Under 100 students.....	9
100 and less than 200.....	10
200 and less than 300.....	10
300 and less than 400.....	3
400 and less than 600.....	1
600 and less than 800.....	2
800 and less than 1,300.....	0
1,300 and over.....	2
Total.....	37

degrees in recent years reflects the change to graduate status in the accredited schools in the association.

This year for the first time there are more graduate students taking full-time programs in comparison with the number taking part-time work, which is encouraging evidence of the general trend toward the stabilization of the program.

The *Report* also shows the impressive number of 116 students sent to the schools on public scholarships or "educational leave" from the public social services. There is also a table showing six schools with 695 "extra-mural" students, an indication of the effort being made by the schools to reach the workers who cannot leave their work, even for professional training.

Finally, there is the large total of 9,898 students, an unduplicated number of different students who took some work in one of the accredited schools during the year 1938-39. This means that the thirty-seven schools have worked to the limit of their respective capacities, two of them registering more than 1,300 students during the year and a large number of schools registered more than 200 students each, as Table 4 shows.

On the whole the *Report* gives reason for the friends of the schools to be encouraged rather than discouraged.

AN ARKANSAS CORRECTION

A COMMUNICATION from the Director of Research and Statistics of the Arkansas Department of Public Welfare points to an error in the review of the Arkansas State Department *Report* in our last issue—an error which the *Review* is glad to correct and for which we apologize to Arkansas. Our reviewer thought the Arkansas *Report* indicated that the state made no provision for general relief but that the counties appropriated funds for persons temporarily or permanently handicapped and ineligible for other forms of assistance. However, Commissioner Thompson has written us that Arkansas does, through the State Department of Public Welfare,

make provision for general relief which is allocated to the county departments. The amount available for each county's general relief fund is determined by a quota based upon factors such as population, case load of other forms of public assistance, pending applications and whether rural or urban. All of the general relief monies are derived from ear-marked revenues (see *Social Security Bulletin*, January, 1940).

In fairness to our reviewer, however, it is necessary for us in turn to call the attention of the Arkansas department to the fact that the information which Commissioner Thompson has sent us does not appear in the *Report*. While the *Report* indicates that the Division of Finance and Accounting is responsible for the disbursement of all funds, including general relief (p. 15), the only other reference occurs in connection with the various functions of the county departments which administer public assistance

and "general relief to temporarily and permanently handicapped persons" (p. 8).

The financial statements (pp. 34-39), showing the amounts and sources of all disbursements for public assistance, also fail to give any data regarding general relief, while the statistical tables giving case-load information contained three tables relating to general relief (pp. 82-85), one of which indicates that a total of \$226,000 was spent during 1938-39. Another table presents the amount of assistance, number of recipients, and average grants by counties. At no point in the *Report* is the fact that these funds are derived from the state indicated. Moreover, the grants were so very small, averaging from \$3.35 to \$5.88 per month, that it was hard to believe that the state and local authorities combined were together responsible for such low relief allowances.

The *Review*, however, always regrets a mistake, whatever the explanation or the apparent justification may be. We again wish to say, therefore, that we apologize to Arkansas and are glad to call attention to Commissioner Thompson's correction.

A PUBLIC WELFARE DIRECTORY, 1940

THE American Public Welfare Association is to be congratulated on issuing a useful, new public welfare directory which is also a very attractively bound desk book.¹ In previous years the A.P.W.A. has published directories of the state agencies, with a listing of the state officials administering state public welfare services and also the city and county public welfare administrators in areas of over 100,000 population. In its new publication the Association has continued its former lists and has also added—an important addition—the agencies in local communities with 30,000-100,000 population. This *Directory*, which has been made possible by the co-operation of state welfare administrators and the various local welfare administrators, will also replace in some measure the listing of public agencies that has been carried in the directory of the Family Welfare Association of America.

The editor, Ralph E. Spear of the A.P.W.A. staff, notes in his Introduction that the preparation of a directory of welfare agencies makes necessary the defining of the area of the public welfare services. In the

¹ Ralph E. Spear (ed.), *The Public Welfare Directory, 1940: A Listing of State and Local Public Assistance and Welfare Agencies*. Chicago: A.P.W.A., 1940. Pp. viii+154. \$1.00.

present volume the area has been limited "more with the view to practical use than to a theoretically sound delineation of the scope of public welfare. On the state level an attempt has been made to include the functions commonly associated with state public welfare agencies together with certain other programs which are closely related." It is also pointed out that only public agencies or agencies expending public funds have been included in the present directory. The state welfare programs have been given a wider range than the local programs. Thus the local listings have been limited to general relief and to the three special-assistance programs—old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and blind assistance. The editor explains that the decision to include only local agencies responsible for these programs was "largely dictated by consideration of space and convenience." In general, however, the editor also thinks that "local agencies have much more diversified responsibilities than state agencies. A recent analysis of local functions reveals that in cities of over 100,000 population, local public welfare agencies were administering a total of no less than 55 different programs, many of which are commonly regarded as police or public works responsibility." It was therefore decided that no attempt should be made "to approach uniformity" by including all such programs. It was decided therefore to "limit the scope of public assistance on the local level." The editor's Introduction is followed by a note on "Interstate Correspondence Procedures," by Mr. Louis Hosch. The A.P.W.A. is to be congratulated on a very useful and attractive publication.

IN MEMORIAM

JAMES W. LEAKE

1903-40

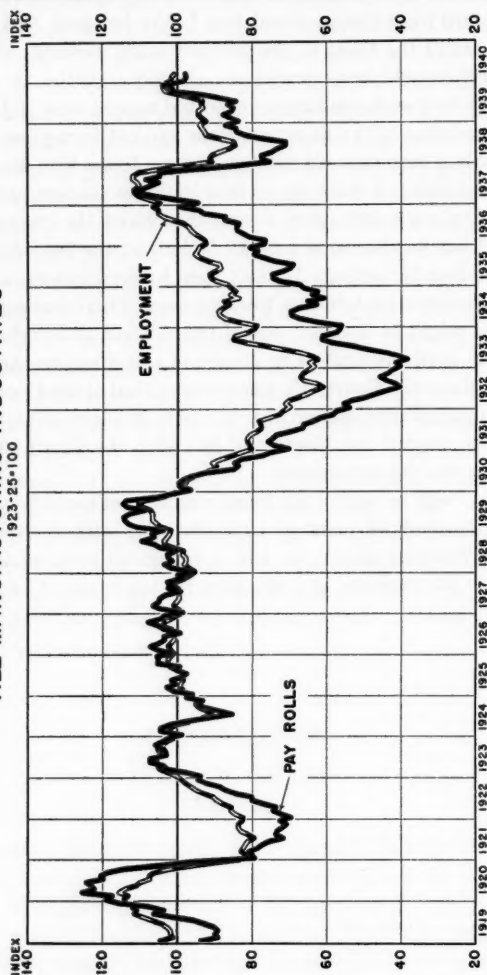
THE death of James W. Leake, one of the able field-work supervisors of the School of Social Service Administration, is a real tragedy. He was still in the promising beginning of his career, and everyone had expected that he would make an outstanding contribution to social work in the long years to come. That contribution now can never be made. His students and fellow-workers left Chicago for the spring vacation, when he was, as far as they knew, in his usual health and when he was making eager plans for the new quarter. They returned in a few days to find that he had been very ill in the hospital and had finally left us on Easter Sunday.

James Leake first came to the University of Chicago in October, 1937. We had heard from Oregon about him before he came, and we knew he had been one of the finest of the younger public servants whom the depression had brought into our welfare and relief activities. Even before he came and before we knew him we expected a great deal of James Leake, but we found that our great expectations had not been great enough. He was not only a very unusual student, but we found that he also had the necessary qualities of character to be a leader in the new public services.

James Leake not only cared a great deal about the students whom he supervised but he also cared a great deal about the Juvenile Court children with whom he worked. The last night he lived and was able to speak, he wanted to have his briefcase brought over. There was something that he thought might be done for one of the children and perhaps he ought not to wait until the student in charge of the situation came back. He also cared about the Court. He was never critical of the Court even when he wanted things done differently. It would be fairer to say that he was sympathetic toward the Court and felt that the Court carried heavy burdens for the city and county.

His work with us was in the finest tradition of social service. He had the fair, unprejudiced point of view that goes with what is sometimes called the "judicial mind"; he had a wonderful sense of humor, great devotion to his students, and devotion for the cause of helpless people.

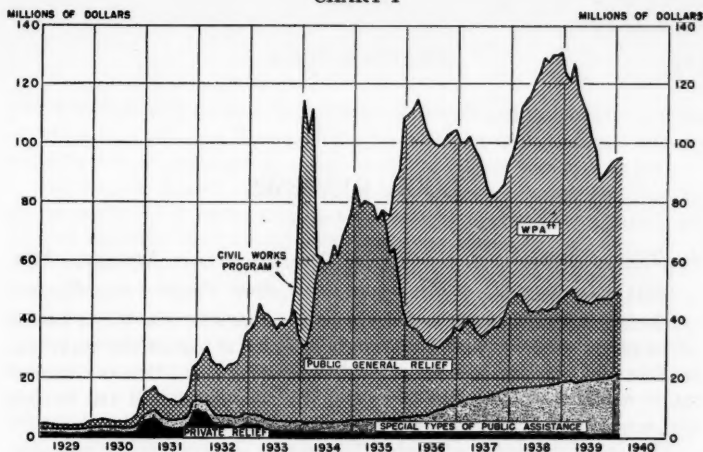
EMPLOYMENT AND PAY ROLLS ALL MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES



ADJUSTED TO 1937 CENSUS

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

CHART I



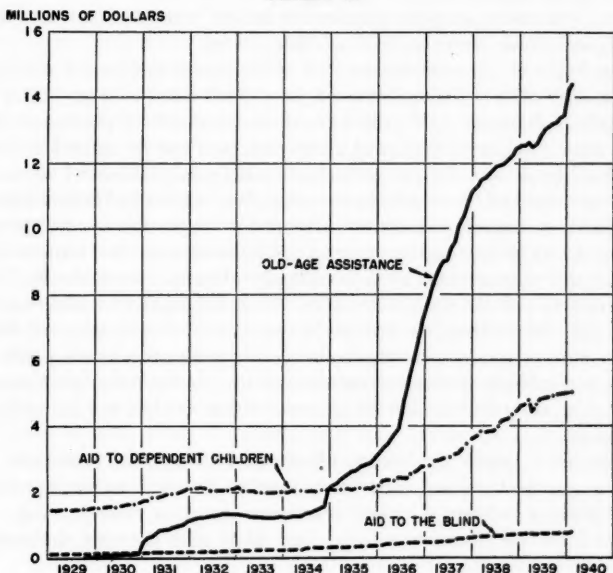
Social Security Board, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Division of Public Assistance Research

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ASSISTANCE AND EARNINGS OF PERSONS EMPLOYED ON PROJECTS OPERATED BY THE WORKS PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION AND UNDER THE CIVIL WORKS PROGRAM IN 116 URBAN AREAS, JANUARY, 1929—FEBRUARY, 1940

† Earnings of all persons employed under the Civil Works Program, including the administrative staff.

†† Earnings on projects operated by the Works Projects Administration within the areas.

CHART II



Social Security Board, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Division of Public Assistance Research

SPECIAL TYPES OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN 116 URBAN AREAS
JANUARY, 1929—FEBRUARY, 1940

BOOK REVIEWS

Problems of Administration in Social Work. By PIERCE ATWATER. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1940. Pp. xii+319. \$3.50.

The key to Mr. Atwater's book lies in his prefatory statement that it is based on an earlier mimeographed draft which professional schools and many universities used as reference material for student training, and that as a result of rather widespread request the mimeographed volume, enlarged and reorganized, is now published for the use of students and practicing social workers.

The tone of the book is admirable. It conveys a sense of intimate, almost affectionate, concern for struggling executives, for students and staff members who will struggle in their turn, and above all for clients in whose behalf all this struggling is done. To read the book is to be persuaded that Mr. Atwater must be an excellent and understanding chief.

Moreover, we have here no side-line observer drawing blueprints for administrative castles in Spain. Mr. Atwater speaks from a wide, varied, and intensely practical experience. It is rare to find a busy executive who has either the ability or the time to subject his experience to such rigorous analysis, and especially one who can express his views so lucidly, who can make hard things simple and refrain from making simple things hard.

Inevitably Mr. Atwater devotes most of his space to problems of administration as they arise in a direct-service agency. Such agencies range over a wide diversity of functional fields, differ greatly in size, are both public and voluntary, serve rural, small-town, and urban areas, and operate on national, state, and local levels. Mr. Atwater endeavors to segregate problems of administration common to all these agencies, to reduce them to clear and human terms, to cite plenty of concrete situations, to state and where possible to develop principles that may guide a beginner over an unfamiliar terrain. Few features of this terrain are too large or too small to escape his attention. From the relations of an executive with the whole community, with board members, committee members, and staff members, on through the vexed question of budgets and the still more vexed question of personnel policies, with glances at research, public relations, and publicity methods thrown in, and down to fine points of office equipment, files, and telephone service, he moves with a watchful eye and unflagging concern.

The very fulness of the treatment is at once a strength and a weakness. The inquiring student will find nearly every problem discussed; he may not find his most pressing problems discussed in sufficient detail for immediate help. This is inevitable in a volume so wide in scope. More often than not, the author of

such a book must be satisfied to start hares of thought and to point the direction in which they will run. Responsibility for following their trail and actually bringing them to earth belongs to each perspiring executive on his own job.

The chapters of special interest to this reviewer were naturally those bearing on the relation of an agency executive to the community and to a central council, and especially those dealing with council and chest administration. These chapters are sound and constructive. If agency executives would take to heart Mr. Atwater's emphasis on their obligation to the community, the community would be better served and as a small by-product the way of council executives would be rendered less hard. In dealing directly with councils Mr. Atwater offers shrewd and just criticisms of some of their organic weaknesses, of their slowness to adapt to changing conditions, and of their reluctance to face the sharp issues inherent in bold and imaginative planning. His discussion of council-chest relations, as might be expected, is especially informed and suggestive. On all these topics, however, he would probably agree that he makes the most intricate relations in social work seem several shades easier than they turn out to be in fact, when encountered by fallible executives endeavoring to co-operate with still more fallible colleagues (as colleagues always are).

This last consideration poses one question which is not answered to my own complete satisfaction. This question relates to teaching the administrative process. How far is it possible? How far can administration be learned in a school, even with first-class facilities for field work? Mr. Atwater's chapter on "Problems in Teaching Administration" is short and intentionally inconclusive. It is followed by a longer chapter on "Outlines of Field Work Instruction and Administration," and the outlines are excellent. Taken together, and reinforced by the fundamental purpose of the entire book, these chapters reflect a belief that much of the science and even something of the art of administration can be taught and learned. Here Mr. Atwater may be on solid ground. My own doubts are two-fold—first, doubt that the intellectual and emotional maturity required for understanding administrative problems is developed at the age most students have reached; and, second, doubt that the manifold and unpredictable crises that confront the administrator of an active social agency can be tamed for effective classroom use. Something can certainly be done through formulation and discussion—witness the present volume; as to how much, Mr. Atwater and I might not agree. If nerve and sense can be acquired by taking thought, he is nearer right than I. But when I reflect on the harassed executives of my acquaintance, and picture myself trying to teach students the true nature of their problems, I reflect also that the toad beneath the harrow knows exactly where each toothpoint goes, while the butterfly upon the road preaches contentment to the toad. Having both felt the harrow and perched beside the road, I shall not press the analogy.

ROBERT P. LANE

WELFARE COUNCIL OF NEW YORK CITY

Virginia's Social Awakening. By ARTHUR W. JAMES. Richmond: Garrett & Massie, Inc., 1939. Pp. xi + 198. \$3.00.

Arthur W. James, who was commissioner of public welfare of Virginia from 1932 to 1938, has done a real service in organizing as the thesis submitted for his Master's degree at the Graduate School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago this interesting and carefully prepared record of *Virginia's Social Awakening*. This book is a worthy tribute to the life and contributions of Dr. Joseph T. Mastin, who is held in such affection and esteem by all familiar with the dynamic part that he had played in leading Virginia's agencies of social service out of the archaic conditions in which he found them in 1908 to the more effective services of a relatively modern Public Welfare Department.

As a case history in community organization the steps taken in Virginia since 1908 in transforming the state's inchoate public welfare structure, operating according to early nineteenth-century standards, into a modern, integrated system of social services are much the same as those which other states have followed.

The difficulties experienced in overcoming lethargy and the blind acceptance of bad conditions and in keeping the program out of the spoils system are also typical. In fact, if names and dates were concealed it is very likely that readers might attribute the book to any one of a dozen or more states.

Virginia's Social Awakening has a real value as a guide to influence social changes. The necessity and value of building upward is demonstrated with great vigor. In Virginia the reforms were designed to operate at the point where official agencies touch human beings in trouble. Virginia avoided the danger, so frequent in superimposed programs, of having a façade of "new ideology" serve as a screen behind which old abuses go on unchecked.

This type of grass-roots progress is possible only where conscientious people of real integrity and no ulterior motives are given the job of interpreting almost on a person-to-person basis, the need and pattern of change.

Dr. Joseph T. Mastin, the first commissioner of charities and corrections in Virginia, was an able executive. He had a clear vision of the state's needs and a rare ability to convince elected officials and taxpayers that good public welfare service was within reach and expedient.

Dr. Mastin had almost no staff the first few years and little actual authority. All he could do was "inspect" and "advise." But within the year he got action.

He saw to it that local jails and lockups were scrubbed and their policies overhauled. Almshouses and their inmates were cleansed and their morale improved. Demonstrations of the infirmary type of institution were made. He eliminated a wide variety of abuses in orphanages and maternity homes. He introduced modern child welfare services. Under his influence police court hearings of juvenile offenders gave way to juvenile courts. Juvenile delinquency was recognized as a welfare question.

Similar developments took place in the correctional and mental hygiene fields, and Dr. Mastin enlisted the active co-operation of able assistants here as in his other areas of responsibility.

Virginia is one of the states which recognizes that all services which help people in need are "public welfare services" and can be practically administratively correlated. This stems from the many-sidedness of Dr. Mastin, who, focusing his attention on people, found it impossible to keep their varied difficulties in isolated compartments.

Do not make the mistake of inferring that Virginia feels it has solved all its welfare problems. Virginia has not, and knows that it has not, reached any such state of perfection. Dr. Mastin, and his successors, Mr. Frank Bane who contributed the appreciative introduction to this book, and Mr. James, are steeped in the liberal tradition and see the responsibility of a commonwealth toward its social welfare needs as a challenge to constant development enlisting the best efforts of private citizens and public officials.

All in all, Mr. James has written an extremely readable book which, in the words of the jacket, "is both a social service study of a distinguished agency and a biography of a great social worker and beloved minister."

WILLIAM J. ELLIS

DEPARTMENT OF INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES
TRENTON, NEW JERSEY

The Atlantic Migration. By MARCUS LEE HANSEN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. xvii+391. \$3.50.

Catholic Immigrant Colonization Projects in the United States, 1815-1860.

By SISTER MARY GILBERT KELLY. New York: U.S. Catholic Historical Society, 1939. Pp. viii+290. \$3.00.

A generation ago Miss Jane Addams described immigration as a "field neglected by the scholar." That reproach is probably no longer justified, but the history of immigration is still to be written.

The death of Professor Hansen of the University of Illinois left his studies of emigration and immigration unfinished, but Professor Schlesinger of Harvard has seen through to a successful conclusion the part of his work dealing with early waves of migration, chiefly those of the early and middle nineteenth century. The Hansen volume deals largely with the conditions in Europe that were driving the emigrants to America. Changes in agriculture and landholding, disasters of various kinds, political oppression, religious discrimination, activities of emigrant agencies, improvements in transportation, and other factors explain the great migration.

Professor Hansen's long work in European libraries and archives has yielded valuable returns. His study of European newspapers has been laborious and useful. A few interesting illustrations from such sources as *Harper's Weekly*, the *London Illustrated News*, and some old lithographs make the book attractive.

Sister Mary Gilbert Kelly gives us a competent story of one aspect of the long story of the European peasants in America, some of the problems created by and for the new Americans, and some of the attempts to solve these problems. The pre-Civil War immigration colonization projects undertaken by and in behalf of the Irish immigrants of the Roman Catholic faith who were in mass flight from the persecution and starvation of their old homes in the United Kingdom have been carefully studied.

The great wave of immigration after the Napoleonic wars brought many destitute Irish who were "without knowledge of how to make a livelihood in America" and who were "quickly stranded" in the seaboard cities.

With the hope of eradicating this growing evil and sincerely desiring to help their distressed countrymen, between the years 1812 and 1825 citizens of Irish descent formed the Hibernian Society of Savannah, Georgia, the Emigrant Assistance Society of New York, and similar associations in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh, and began to seek a remedy by means of a plan for Western colonization.

Sister Mary Gilbert has searched the records for accounts of the Catholic Irish in the westward migration, the establishing of Catholic immigrant colonies in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Michigan prior to 1840. There is an interesting account of the events preceding the holding of the Irish Immigrant Aid Convention which met in Buffalo in 1856. Sister Mary Gilbert also writes of the Catholic church in the frontier country west of the Missouri. A typical settlement promoted by the Irish-American leaders for their co-religionists was Father Treacy's Nebraska colony, which had its beginnings in the period after the Buffalo Convention and before the Civil War.

Sister Mary Gilbert thinks that

despite the failure of the Buffalo Convention, the Catholic immigration colonization movement in the United States from 1815 to 1860 was successful. Apart from the Irish colony of St. Patrick's in Nebraska Territory, the French settlement of Porrentruy in Indiana and Father John Hogan's colony in southern Missouri, all the colonies established between these dates flourished. None of them advanced to the status of a large city, but, with the exceptions noted, all have continued to exist and have become substantial parishes.

Were these early immigrants "assimilated" and did they want to be assimilated? Sister Mary Gilbert writes:

The Catholic foreigners who came directly from their European homeland to our country in response to invitations sent out by the founders of these colonies might have been dispersed widely and lost their religious and national identity had they come under

different circumstances. The inhabitants of the Catholic immigrant colonies combined faithfulness to their religion with loyalty to the Government of their adopted country and passed these on to their descendants as a heritage.

EDITH ABBOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Americans in Process. By WILLIAM CARLSON SMITH. Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1937. Pp. xv+359. \$3.00.

This book should be on the "must read" list of every person in the professions of social work and teaching in the territory of Hawaii and in other sections of the United States where Oriental heritages are found. It will be helpful to students in the Orient who contemplate study in the United States and to those of Oriental ancestry in Hawaii who come to the mainland. People whose interest has been aroused in Oriental backgrounds will find a deeply moving picture in Dr. Smith's book—a picture which shows first the heritage; second, its mutations and compromises; and, finally, its adaptations in conflict with Occidental culture. The functions of the Chinese "tong" in the homeland as compared with its functions in Hawaii and in San Francisco are used to illustrate the point. The family systems of both China and Japan, male superiority, ancestor worship, separation of the sexes, marriage arrangements, and religious beliefs may be understood by the Occidental so that they contribute strengths to the life of the joint culture. Or they may be misunderstood so as to create conflict not only between the Oriental and the Occidental but between Orientals themselves. The illustrative material lends color to an account already full of interest, and its study alone will enable social workers to understand some of the reasons for slow movement in social work which takes its form from Occidental experience. The variety and nature of source material gives validity to the text and suggests an author who is versed in the use of the unusual and—what is more important—one who is fearless in its use. The pattern of the European immigrant parent who is determined that his children shall have a better life than he has had is repeated in the Oriental of Hawaii and the West Coast; and it meets with the same rebuffs—surprise that such a desire should exist, then antagonism expressed in general restrictions and personal insults, and finally slow acceptance of those who show superior ability with added resistance to the Oriental because of greater differences in racial characteristics.

The analysis of second-generation personality types into the conformist, the rebellious, the emancipated, the defeated, the philosophical, the accommodative, the go-between, the self-confident, and the altruistic will be helpful not only to the Occidental in understanding the Oriental but to the Oriental in understanding himself.

PEARL SALSBERY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Applied General Statistics. By FREDERICK E. CROXTON and DUDLEY J. COWDEN. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. xviii+944. \$4.00.

Statistics Applied to Education and Psychology. By CLARENCE T. GRAY and DAVID F. VOTAW. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1939. Pp. xiv+278. \$3.25.

These two textbooks represent respectively the generic and the specific approach to the problem of teaching statistics. Croxton and Cowden state in the first paragraph of their Preface that their book is intended to give an understanding of statistical methods "in their application in various fields, especially the social sciences." Gray and Votaw, on the other hand, are primarily concerned to train teachers. Accordingly the data they have used relate to problems actually originating in classrooms, in offices of school principals, and in the laboratories of educational investigators.

This reviewer admits a bias in favor of the specific approach. The Croxton and Cowden volume is a monumental tome, painstakingly thorough, admirable in organization and presentation, and amazingly comprehensive in the range of data it uses for illustrative purposes. Nevertheless, it is probably not so well suited to the needs of students in schools of education as the smaller volume by Gray and Votaw.

The latter, for example, devotes some attention to the Normal Zone. This is a concept of obvious importance to public school teachers in dealing with such problems as age-grade data, at-grade zones, and physical weight. Moreover, practical suggestions are made as to ways of determining the width of the Normal Zone in the types of distributions that recur frequently in the field of public school education. The Croxton and Cowden book contains no comparable discussion of this topic and in that respect, at least, falls short of meeting the needs of those preparing to enter the public school system.

The foregoing comment is not intended as a thrust at Croxton and Cowden. Their scholarly volume speaks for itself. Their fault, if it be one, lies in having attempted the impossible. The statistical method can be usefully applied in many different fields, and the general principles are the same in all these areas. But general principles are not enough. Statistical methods are capable of infinite variation and adaptation to meet the special needs and special problems of particular fields. These special adaptations are often more useful to the practitioner than any other part of the subject matter. Moreover, it ignores experience to assume that a student who knows general principles thoroughly can work out for himself the specific adaptations to his own field. The working-out of particular applications is a slow job—and very often is an unnecessary waste of energy. The student who plans to work in a certain field is entitled to be introduced from the beginning to all the useful specific applications that have been evolved by earlier practitioners in his field.

Nevertheless, the Croxton and Cowden volume challenges admiration in

many respects. Among writers in mathematics and in derivative fields coyness has become almost a tradition. "As can be readily seen," says the author, omitting an essential step, "this equation in turn produces . . .," and the student is then left to puzzle for hours in his pursuit of the intervening step thus so pockishly omitted. Croxton and Cowden do not follow that honored technique. They never leave out a step. They take the student by the hand and lead him painstakingly through each process. They have spared no pains to achieve clarity. In most instances the explanations are so clear and so complete that there would be very little left for a teacher to explain.

Charts, illustrations, and tables have been strewn through the text with lavish hand. There are, for example, more than two hundred and fifty charts in the book. Incidentally, the discussion of charts—how to make and use them—is the best this reviewer has seen in any general text.

Selected references appear at the end of each of the twenty-five chapters. The eighteen appendixes include the tables most frequently needed in solving statistical problems. The authors do not provide exercises for the use of students.

The Gray-Votaw text is likewise far above the average in clarity. It succeeds admirably in achieving its purpose; in other words, it sets forth the kinds of statistical problems encountered in the field of public education and explains clearly the methods that are useful in summarizing and analyzing such data. This text includes exercises for students following each chapter and a set of answers at the back of the volume.

WAYNE McMILLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work: Selected Papers Sixty-sixth Annual Conference, Buffalo, New York, June 18-24, 1939. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Pp. 655. \$3.00.

In presenting the sixty-six papers selected from many given at the 1939 Buffalo Conference the Editorial Committee calls our attention to a change in the organization of the present volume over previous *Proceedings*. The papers are grouped "according to current foci of reader interest": Part I, "Social Work and the Spirit of America"; Part II, "Current Sectors of Social Action"; Part III, "Fields of Social Practice"; and Part IV, "Settings of Social Work." The reviewer questions whether the grouping of the selected papers under these four sections greatly clarifies the subject matter, and Part IV, "Settings of Social Work," appears to include a miscellany of subjects difficult to classify even under such a canopy. The Appendix, however, includes the program for reference purposes.

Paul Kellogg, editor, *Survey Associates*, in his presidential address "Buffalo and Points West (1839-1939)" contrasts the conditions of life and of making a livelihood of our pioneering forefathers with the contemporary scene. In reminiscing about the past Mr. Kellogg pays generous tribute to many social welfare leaders who made their contribution to "a century of achievement in democracy." In reviewing the present he does so with a journalistic sweep touching upon a wide variety of current problems. Appropriately enough, the other papers presented at the general sessions of the Conference deal with questions of minorities, religious freedom, civil liberties, and the importance of maintaining democratic principles.

Reflected in a number of the papers is the social worker's concern with federal legislation and with national programs. Housing, the Wages and Hours, and National Labor Relations acts and especially the Wagner National Health Bill are among the national measures discussed. The Social Security Act is already an old conference number, but the effective administration of the various provisions of the Act in our forty-eight states and more than three thousand counties properly constitutes an important conference subject. However, any discussion of further amendments to the Act to include grants to the states for general assistance and for the nonsettled group is apparently lacking. Likewise one misses as a part of the record for 1939 any real presentation of the continuing plight of the unemployed. The facts are perhaps too well known to conference members to need reiteration, and the limited attention to the tragedy may indicate a low ebb in our hopes that a comprehensive program will be forthcoming.

As would be expected, the problems of youth and old age receive considerable attention, and it is encouraging to note the beginnings of some specialized programs to meet the problems of the aged who in most instances need more than just a public-assistance grant. The sections on "Social Case Work" and "Social Group Work" will be of special interest to practitioners in these fields. The report of several group discussions in the field of community organization is an initial attempt to clarify community organization as a *process* and as a *field* and to agree upon terminology. This subject is of current interest to a considerable number of conference members, and the report offers an opportunity for further controversy and discussion. Altogether the *Proceedings* illustrate the day-in and day-out problems which are the special concern of the social worker. The task is a difficult and often discouraging one but in review an exceedingly important one if we are to achieve more than a political democracy.

ELIZABETH WISNER

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
TULANE UNIVERSITY

Workers on Relief. By GRACE ADAMS. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1939. Pp. 344. \$3.00.

As the jacket to this book suggests, anyone wanting information about the W.P.A. can find it here, but they will come by it the hard way. To be sure, the volume does tell what a sponsor is, what kinds of work W.P.A. workers do, what at least a few of them are paid, but this information is scattered widely and all too often imbedded in long, desultory conversations among W.P.A. workers or minor officials.

At one point, for example, a petty official, supposedly in conversation with a woman who is dissatisfied with her job, launches into one long harangue after another—lasting from two to four pages in length—egged on only infrequently by questions from the pretended listener. In one instance the discourse continues for eleven pages, the stooge interrupting only five times.

What Miss Adams seeks to gain by putting into the mouths of project supervisors, examiners, and the like, these long descriptions of the W.P.A. program in the country at large, is not clear. Neither are the analyses convincing. Instead of having humble administrative officials cite reams of statistics about accomplishments of the W.P.A., the numbers needing and given employment, and the usual skills of those to be employed, a stronger case could have been made by presenting the information forthrightly—supporting it with the data available. Minor officials cannot be expected to be authorities on the broad aspects and philosophy of a national program.

If, on the other hand, Miss Adams resorts to this device not to give information about the W.P.A., but to present opinions of a few individuals about it, this is not made clear, and no distinction is made between fact and what her characters give as fact. Furthermore, there is nothing to show whether her characters are fictitious or real (though the former is strongly suggested by the unnatural character of the monologues introduced from time to time) or, if real, how they were selected and whom they represent, whether they reflect widely held points of views or only their own.

Miss Adams tells little that social workers do not already know about how people feel when first driven to seek relief; how these people gradually become inured to asking for help; how they feel about working on jobs that do not require their highest skills; how families make ends meet by moving, pawning, and selling—reducing their living standards—when funds run low or relief becomes inadequate; how recipients fear to work lest their relief be cut off; how they find consolation in not being alone in their misery and misfortune; how they sometimes withdraw from normal associates and activities, reorienting themselves to an entirely different set of social standards; how they are shunted from one agency and program to another, being batted back and forth between work and direct relief; and how some have completed the whole miserable course from private work relief, local public work relief, C.W.A., federal work relief, finally reaching a W.P.A. job only to be returned again to direct relief because of

eighteen months' continuous employment. Of all these things Miss Adams tells in words purporting to be those of a handful of people experiencing them at first hand.

These people tell, too, of their attitude toward their W.P.A. jobs—and little is the good they find in them. Repeatedly emphasis is laid upon being assigned to work for which they are not qualified, as in the case of a cobbler who was put to work as a carpenter, the electrician who became an "educational counselor," the former countess who became a puppeteer, or Nicky, who after falsifying about her education and attainments, was given work on a project to teach remedial spelling. Repeatedly, too, there is emphasis upon the fact that employees—whether administrative or project workers—didn't know what they were doing. Other aspects of the W.P.A. program that come in for their share of criticism are the sudden changes in policy; certain projects undertaken as "useful," but which must neither interfere with private enterprise nor displace workers normally employed by governmental agencies; and the lack of satisfaction workers find in their jobs. With many of the criticisms social workers would agree. However, they would probably find more good in the W.P.A. than Miss Adams permits her readers to see through the eyes of her characters. Social workers might go even farther than does Miss Adams in singling out deficiencies in the W.P.A. program, but they would not admit that these constituted the whole truth, or represented as large a proportion of the whole truth as Miss Adams implies.

Some of the criticisms of the W.P.A. are unfair, in that they relate—without making this clear—not to the program as it was administered in 1939, but at its inception, before procedures and policies were as well ordered as they are today. Then, too, there is the extended reference to high wages paid certain workers on New York City's North Beach Airport and at the World's Fair without any indication of the fact that these were not run-of-the-mine but atypical projects.

Her central contention—that the hybrid nature of the W.P.A. prevents its being an effective relief measure yet does not permit its being a satisfying work program—is one that many social workers would indorse heartily.

Although her publishers point out that Miss Adams received a Ph.D. in psychology from Cornell and writes this book "as a trained psychologist," readers will be disappointed if they expect to find in it a careful scientific analysis of the psychological value of W.P.A. employment to any considerable number of workers.

In order to get a more balanced picture, readers of this book might well read *The Personal Side*, issued in 1939 by the then Works Progress Administration.

DONALD S. HOWARD

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

The History of the Woman's Peace Party. By MARIE LOUISE DEGEN. ("Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science," Series LVII, No. 3.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1939. Pp. 266. \$2.50.

Of all sad words, perhaps the saddest are not "It might have been" but "I told you so." So tragic because the words then spoken, though true and significant, were not spoken so that they would be heeded.

So the surviving members of the Woman's Peace party feel as they recall or are reminded of the devoted efforts put forth sometimes at such cost to obtain, if possible, the attention of those in authority in 1915, 1916, and 1917. It is true that at the moment many of their associates have surrendered to another doctrine; but they recall the fact that whatever the organized church may preach, the Sermon on the Mount has never really been tried, and the one true victory won of late is that of Ghandi over the British Empire. What his spirit wins is not lost for India.

To one who has been a member participant in those efforts it is a great satisfaction to see Miss Addams' papers, used so ably, supplemented by resort to other sources. And, now, when the Middle West and West, the former service men, and the young have successfully for the time resisted the pressure toward support of the so-called democracies that are really imperialisms, and acknowledged that none of the purposes were accomplished for which Wilson abandoned the policy of "keeping us out of war," those who believe that in the end only the things of the spirit will endure may be reconciled to being strangely enough in a majority that sees the inapplicability of the use of force to obtain the things of the spirit of which democracy is one.

The dilemma presented by the demands of the principles of democracy which seem to require not merely final acquiescence in the will of the majority, when that has been determined, but agreement in the theory and purpose of the majority and of the claim of true patriotism are clearly set out. Of course, true democracy, while perhaps yielding so that the will of the majority will prevail, would require of those who do not agree that they do all in their power to make known the basis of their dissent. What else is the lesson of Calvary, of Martin Luther, of John Brown, of Garrison, of Josephine Butler, of all the voices that first "cry in the wilderness" but later receive the acclaim of the multitude? The same reply is recognized as meeting the charge of lack of patriotism.

Dr. Degen has used critically but sympathetically and exhaustively the records of the organization, the reports of the successive organizations, and the papers now in the custody of Swarthmore College Library.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Building of a Nation's Health. By SIR GEORGE NEWMAN. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1939. Pp. xiii+479. \$6.00.

Just fifty years ago Sir John Simon took stock of the legislation and institutions which had been developed in England for the protection and maintenance of the nation's health. His work *English Sanitary Institutions* became the standard history of preventive medicine applied to public health through the nineteenth century. Sir George Newman's new book now brings the story up to date; however, since he also reviews the important nineteenth-century developments in the earlier parts of his book, these chapters will certainly be compared with Sir John's history. The student of philanthropy will still find the earlier account more interesting probably, because it is fuller and includes a great deal more about the contributions of individual reformers. In addition there is discussion of the Tudor and Stuart sanitary legislation in Simon's great work which finds no place in the Newman book. The latter refers briefly to the work of Chadwick, Shaftesbury, Dr. Southwood Smith, and Farr; but he is chiefly concerned with the development of the administrative machinery, both national and local, which now carries the burden of public health services.

In considering the "unequal struggle of English medicine with its twain hereditary foes, pestilence and poverty" and the means by which government has thrown its weight on the side of medicine, the author notes that the "principal milestones" were sanitation, hospitals, and isolation, followed by public water supply, industrial health, notification of infectious diseases, registration of causes of death, vaccination, the control of wholesome food and milk supply, housing, and, finally, public medical services (including public assistance and medical treatment!).

When Sir John Simon wrote, the only public medical care available for the individual aside from poor-law institutions was that provided in the isolation or "fever" hospitals established in the last half of the nineteenth century. The first quarter of the present century saw the establishment of public hospitals for the treatment of tuberculosis, venereal disease, mental disorders, heart disease, cancer, and rheumatism. At the same time there were introduced public medical services for maternity and child welfare, for school children, for persons coming within health insurance, for the crippled, and for the blind.

The author, chief medical officer of the Board of Education, 1907-35, and of the Ministry of Health, 1919-35, has an interesting chapter on the development of the school medical services, and in another chapter ("The Nutrition of the People") the administration and effects of the school feeding acts are discussed. Expert medical witnesses in their testimony before the Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration (1904) denounced the attempts then being made to educate underfed children as a "positive evil," and despite the reservations of those who regarded school feeding as a "socialistic adventure," their recommendations were embodied in the primary Act of 1906. The British experience with this adventure should be carefully studied by American social workers.

In the chapter on health insurance the author is inclined to look at the 1911 law with its amendments in terms of what it does do rather than what it fails to accomplish, and he makes no specific recommendations for the extension of the services, although it should be said that he is not complacent about its present scope. His description of the hard struggle to get anything at all makes this point of view understandable.

JAMES BROWN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Public Health Services. By NORMAN WILSON. London: William Hodge & Co., 1938. Pp. 244. 7s. 6d.

This book is concerned with one of the most important of the functions which the British local authorities are intrusted to undertake. A brief historical survey of the public health services as actually carried out in the county boroughs is followed by somewhat detailed examination of the manner in which the county borough councils in England and Wales actually have made provision for the main elements of the public health services.

The picture inevitably reveals great dissimilarities in the way in which local authorities undertake their share of the responsibility in matters affecting the physical well-being of their communities. The legalistic framework alone does not tell the story since much of the public health legislation is permissive. "The public health service is not a single piece of machinery, each part functioning in harmony with the others and all in accordance with Acts of Parliament, regulations, orders and memoranda, but a great number of separate pieces of machinery each of which is in charge of an engineer with considerable independence of action in the manner of running it."

Even before the abolition of the old poor law "boards of guardians" in 1930, the poor law "infirmaries" although legally they were only available for "paupers" had actually been used increasingly by persons who were not entirely destitute but were "able to contribute something toward the cost of treatment." Under the Local Government Act of 1929 it has been made possible for the local authorities to administer the old poor law institutions as general hospitals under the public health acts instead of under the poor law. This is an important change that has gone on almost without comment. A considerable number of these institutions are now administered in this way and "though the obligation to provide for the destitute still remains, they cater to a growing extent for persons to whom previously, in theory at all events, voluntary hospitals alone offered accommodation."

The personal health services in contrast to those related to the environment, the development of services "in the direction of amelioration and cure," an increasing emphasis on "measures designed to remedy" and not an exclusive concern with "measures designed to prevent," have developed largely from the old

poor law. Only in the present century have these services been separated from the old idea of being provided only for "paupers."

Here are excellent chapters dealing with the poor law medical services and the more modern maternity and child welfare work, the excellent system of providing for the "health of the school child" and the more recent provision for the care of tuberculosis. It is significant that the author notes:

Every notable development of their services has been greeted by the accusation that it would tend to rob the private doctor of his livelihood; but it has been generally recognized, firstly, that the great bulk of persons outside the National Health Insurance scheme availing themselves of public services could not or would not go to private doctors, and, secondly, that what may be called the "examining" aspects of the services (e.g., school medical inspection) have sent to the private doctor for treatment a number of patients whom otherwise he would not have had.

This volume is one of a number of the excellent studies that have been made possible by a research scheme promoted by the British Institute of Public Administration in an attempt to make available some part of the "store of experience and thought relating to public administration which the various public services of the country possess." The author recognizes the limitations of his book when he says:

That great changes in the machinery of our medical services, speaking of them as a whole, are bound to take place is beyond doubt; but it is not the purpose of this book to consider what they may be. Its object is the more restricted one . . . to examine the services provided by local authorities in their actual working and to suggest a remedy for what appear to the writer to be the fundamental imperfections of the existing system.

E. A.

Health in Handcuffs. By JOHN A. KINGSBURY. New York: Modern Age Books, Inc., 1939. Pp. ix+210. \$0.75.

This book furnishes a large amount of valuable material at very low cost. It will meet the needs of persons who are looking for a brief, readable account of the progress toward a national health program that has been made in the last ten years. It is not a statistical inquiry. Mr. Kingsbury has been for many years actively engaged in the movement to make adequate medical care available in America and he has been courageous in refusing to compromise to satisfy those who are content with things more or less as they are. He reviews in his best style the work of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care and the attempts to defeat the work of that committee. Long an advocate of health insurance, his well-known arguments are vigorously set forth, and whether one agrees with the method of insurance proposed or prefers the broader method of universal provision, he will be interested in Mr. Kingsbury's presentation of his cause.

There is an account of the work of the Interdepartmental Committee To Co-

ordinate Health and Welfare Activities of 1938 (including the work of the Technical Committee on Medical Care), and he reviews the large issues involved in the maternal health program, Senator Wagner's National Health Bill of 1939 (with an account of the hearings on the bill), and, particularly, the opposition to the bill. Very plain words are spoken regarding the A.M.A., especially in the chapter with the title "A.M.A. vs. U.S.A.," and the multifarious activities of the A.M.A. are described.

From the indifference of the last administration which killed the Sheppard-Towner work to the new public health developments made possible by the Social Security Act was a very short period of time but one which brought new hope of federal support for national health policies. There are still difficulties ahead, but men like John Kingsbury are on the alert to prevent their wrecking the new program.

E. A.

Social Case Work in Practice—Six Case Studies. By FLORENCE HOLLIS.
New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1939. Pp. x+313.
\$2.50.

Miss Hollis' book emerges from the confusion and groping of the past decade to stand with some sureness on an achieved level of case-work philosophy and practice. That this is only one person's concept of sound practice in the year 1939 the author herself points out, but the fact that similar trends appear in widely divergent parts of the country suggests that she has arrived also at those fundamentals of case work which will stand as stepping-stones to further skill and understanding. In as rapidly a developing field as this, the importance of such a book lies not in its perfection of skill or its arrival at final answers but in the formulation of what up to now has been fragmentarily recorded evidence of how treatment concepts are actually put into practice to give some observable help to the client in trouble. That case work can offer this kind of formulation at this point should mean some coming-of-age in its development of a technique and philosophy of its own.

Miss Hollis has chosen her material well. While the cases are taken from a private family agency, they are generic in content and treatment. It is refreshing and perhaps significant to note that they are "successful" cases that move in some directed fashion toward a recognizable end. The treatment of the material makes for easy reading, as the case-recording is interrupted at significant intervals by the author's discussion and comments much as in a classroom teaching method. The mechanics of referring from the discussion back into the case material is somewhat awkward but is, perhaps, the best that could be achieved. The comments themselves are clearly and simply stated and reveal a sure familiarity with both case-work realities and psychological theory. Part

of the effectiveness of the book also rests on the fact that the author knew what she wanted to say and selected and edited her material so that it is free from irrelevant detail. For the experienced worker the addition of a section in "Principles of Treatment" at the end of the book is something of an anticlimax, but it does provide a further basis for the point of view expressed and may be helpful to the student or worker who is struggling to formulate her own concepts.

These six case studies cover such external situations as neurotic illness, need for vocational guidance, financial dependence, sexual delinquency, and marital discord. Their presentation brings out the personal inadequacies and frustrations of the people involved and the case worker's skill in understanding and resolving conflict and building on such strengths as the client has. That this is the basic economy of present-day case-work effort will be generally accepted; to see it so clearly and effectively carried out should be a stimulus and a challenge to any practicing case worker. It is to be hoped that the book will be read widely, not only by private agency workers but by those public agency workers who can make an imaginative adaptation of basic case-work principles to the job of relief administration.

UNITED CHARITIES OF CHICAGO

JEANETTE HANFORD

Children in Foster Homes: A Study of Mental Development. By MARIE SKODAK. ("University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare," Vol. XVI, No. 1.) Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1939. Pp. 156. \$1.35; paper, \$1.00.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the mental development of two groups of preschool-age children originating from the lower socioeconomic levels and placed in adoptive homes by several child-placing agencies, and to examine the relationships between the mental development of the children and various factors characterizing the true and foster-parents and the child's own early development. One group, including one hundred and fifty-four children, were placed in foster-homes before the age of six months and thereby experienced essentially none of the influences of the true family environment; the other group of sixty-five children were placed between the ages of two years and five and one-half years and had lived in unfavorable environments prior to placement in the foster-homes. To both groups mental tests were given after a residence of at least one year in the improved environment of the foster-homes. A comprehensive survey of the various studies previously made in the field of mental development of young children is included in the book, and results obtained from this study are compared with those cited.

In general, the findings of this study suggest that the factor of intelligence

may be markedly influenced by drastic changes in the environment and that the environment provided by the foster-family is of greater prognostic value for the mental development of young children than the educational achievements or the socioeconomic status of own parents.

For the children placed in foster-families under six months of age a significant relationship between the foster-child's mental growth and the foster-father's occupation was found. After one year of age the children whose foster-fathers were in the three upper occupational classifications (professional, semi-professional and managerial, skilled trades) rated consistently above the mean of the total group, while children in foster-homes in the four lower occupational categories (farmers, semiskilled, slightly skilled, day laborers) were consistently below the mean of the total group. It was also found that children whose true parents came from the lowest occupational groups, or whose true-family background was extremely poor, with one parent known to be mentally defective, showed the same pattern of mental development as that of the total group of foster-children. The children placed in superior foster-homes were above the total group in mean I.Q. throughout the period of the study, those children placed in inferior foster-homes were inferior to the total group in mental development. All children placed in similar homes and examined at the same mean ages showed the same pattern of mental development regardless of true-family background.

For children placed in foster-homes between ages of two years and five and one-half years, the mean I.Q. just prior to placement was 98.5 at a mean age of three years, four months; the distribution ranged from 70 to 156 I.Q. The mean I.Q. at time of re-examination was 104.2, with a range from 80 to 165 I.Q. There appeared to be no relationship between the intelligence of the children and objective measures of the level of true-parent ability. Children placed at these ages not only showed a gain in the mean I.Q. but continued to gain with cumulative residence in the foster-home over the period of this study (approximately two years). Children initially lowest in mental level gained most, while children initially highest tended to remain at their initial level. Children placed in all occupational levels gained in mean I.Q., but the least gains were made by children placed in farm homes.

In conclusion the author states her opinion as to the practical implications of these results for child-placing agencies. She points out that since continued residence in an inadequate home results in a decline in mental levels with increase in age and placement in a superior home, even during the later pre-school years, results in an increase in mental level compared to the expectation from the information on the true parents, it is necessary to re-evaluate the types of homes which can be adequate for the care and best development of the child. Since the youngest children in the study showed the highest mental development, Dr. Skodak is of the opinion that children should be placed in foster-homes at the youngest possible ages if they are to have an opportunity

for development equal to that of own children. Furthermore, since the relationship between true-family background and the child's mental development is approximately zero and since knowledge of the child's true-family history has no predictive value, the use of true-family histories as a basis for the placement of the child has little or no justification. The author also states that selective placement of children is unwarranted, since "children above the feeble-minded level, but below average in intelligence, make marked gains even in relatively inferior homes. What they might have gained in superior homes can only be conjectured." The practice of systematically selecting mediocre homes for below-average children is probably penalizing these children in terms of their future mental development.

Although one might agree in part with the author that the most important problem in child-placing is the selection of the foster-home and family, the actual experience of child-placing agencies has given ample evidence of the equal importance of the selection of the child to be placed in a given home. The social implications which the author points out do not seem justified or sound on the basis of the findings of this study; first, because the sampling of cases used was too small for the formulation of conclusive results; and, second, these results have not yet been verified by similar studies made by other experimenters. Although there has been considerable evidence accumulated that would point to the conclusion that under some circumstances a favorable environment may be a positive factor in the increase of the intelligence quotient of young children, there is still lack of evidence of what such an environment consists. Until child-placing agencies have further verification of these results, there seems little justification for them to depart from their present practice of securing a comprehensive social study of the child's family background and utilizing this information along with intelligence-test results as the most accurate prognostic clue available at the present time.

LOIS WILDY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Beyond the Clinical Frontiers. By EDWARD A. STRECKER. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1940. Pp. 210. \$2.00.

This book, the Salmon Memorial Lectures of 1939, does not suffer the diversiveness of many compiled lecture series but has the coherence of a unified work. I suspect this unity comes from the author's sense of urgency toward approaching a goal found in the title of this book—to get some distance "beyond the clinical frontiers."

This sense of urgency about getting beyond the help we can bring to a handful of patients, which in some of us approaches obsessional intensity, grows apace in a time in which the irritation of a war is alone capable of stirring nations out of economic catalepsy. The sensitive psychiatrist and social worker wince

when they see the rising tides of economic and social disasters wipe out in a moment an equivalent of mental health which they have been years in building.

Strecker enjoys words. Reading half his book at a sitting results in the reviewer unconsciously setting down such a phrase as "economic catalepsy." The phrase (not found in the book) nevertheless indicates what the book attempts to do: to bring to the group and crowd situation the valid insights we have of the individuals comprising our groups derived from individual psychiatric study. The language used demands of the reader considerable knowledge of psychiatric concepts and terminology. Incidental to its central purpose the book has value as teaching some clinical psychiatry.

Strecker first reviews the drastic and next the milder, everyday, retreats from reality. He lists some first aids to reality evasion—sleep, the arts, hobbies and diversions, religion, the cinema—and follows through with the more unhygienic evasion-devices of alcoholism and propaganda. The latter impresses him throughout the book as our No. 1 enemy.

In succeeding chapters the author describes the mob-mind as an aggregate and then the individual mind as it seeks refuge in the repressions of crowd-thinking. The inherently loose conception of the mob-mind is given a nice corrective by a review of comparative studies of groups of other representatives of animal life including tropical fish! Painstakingly the whole gamut of mental mechanisms is cited as playing a role in the individuals who become a part of a crowd. He shows the particularly diabolical role of propaganda in helping the crowd-man maintain his repression:

Compared with the average man, the psychoneurotic, and the mental patient and their repressions, the crowd-man is compelled to guard his repressions along a much wider front. Furthermore, unlike the average man's, his situational needs are not satisfied by comparatively mild repressions. Neither does the crowd-man have available the finesse of the repression techniques of the psychoneurotic, nor is he protected by the cloistered precincts of a mental hospital, which in the matter of repressions are both protective and re-educational. He does have one advantage. Propaganda favoring the maintenance of his repressions is constantly supplied and does yeoman service in keeping them safely away from the horizon of awareness.

Strecker makes a nice point of giving the mental patient his day in the "Court of Mental Hygiene." For once society, not the patient, is indicted. The indictment begins: "If your reality (from which the patient feels he has justifiably withdrawn) is so splendid why are you at such pains to soften it with . . . alcohol . . . and massive and often frenzied attempts to escape the limitations of the real?" The patient continues by citing the more peaceful character of his own withdrawal compared to society's massive homicidal debauches. He concludes with the too pertinent question: "If your civilization is so precious and important, why do you try so hard to destroy it?"

The latter part of the book hopefully puts forward mental hygiene techniques as the way to overcome the current crowd-mindedness, the susceptibility

to propaganda, and the proneness to substitute violence for thinking. What we have learned in the care of mental patients—that most of their violence is provoked by a bristling expectancy of violence on our part—is applied to the arena of international politics. A better day is prophesized in which culture is less competitive, a little more dreamy and introverted, and materially less harsh for many millions.

Dr. Strecker avoids the role of amateur economist and thus avoids the hot crossfire of the thesis that a declining capitalism is the root of the stem of sharpened nationalistic trends which bear the evil fruits of crowd-mindedness, of propaganda, etc. He describes the mass-mind well but neglects the pressing question as to why the mass-mind flourishes *now*. Why does it thrive more dangerously now than, let us say, fifty years ago? He thus neglects to make an etiological diagnosis and his prescription may fail if the etiological factors continue to operate energetically. Nevertheless, his psycho-pathological description of the mass-mind merits the reading of the thoughtful professional person.

CONRAD SOMMER, M.D.

ILLINOIS DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

BRIEF NOTICES

Disadvantaged People in Rural Life: Proceedings of the Twenty-first Country Life Conference. Published for the American Country Life Association, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. 176. \$2.00.

This little volume contains the "chief addresses" and the "major portion of the Proceedings of the Country Life Conference held in November, 1938, at Lexington, Kentucky."

Mr. Brehm of the Tennessee Extension Service sounded the keynote of the Conference when he said: "We have been so busy studying the soil and crops on the land, we have not had time to study the individuals on the land, and what their human problems really are, in doing all these things recommended. It is about time we study the relationship of people to the soil and the adaptability of people to farming and rural life. It seems to me we are going to have to know more about the human part of this problem. . . ."

The disadvantaged people to whom special attention was given at the Conference were grouped as "people on low income farms," "people on poor lands," "the farm laborer," and "tenants and share croppers." These people and their problems were ably and effectively discussed from the point of view of the rural sociologists and representatives of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Farm Security Administration, and the Extension Services, who participated in the program.

Included in this volume are additional papers concerned with producer-consumer relations; rural culture; an address by Frank L. McVey, president of the University of Kentucky, on "Rural Statesmanship in the South"; one by William J. Hutchins,

president of Berea College, on "Programs of Rural Improvement in Appalachia"; and the presidential address of Dwight Sanderson, of Cornell University. Also included is a summary of discussion from the youth section and several selected papers from the National Rural Home Conference, which was held simultaneously.

Although the theme of this Twenty-first Country Life Conference is of particular interest to rural social workers, they are conspicuously absent from the program. This reviewer feels that a contribution from the social-work field would have rounded out the discussion. Nevertheless, social workers will find much of interest in the thinking of representatives of other groups who are working side by side with them in rural areas.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

GRACE A. BROWNING

The Sociology of Childhood. By FRANCIS S. BROWN. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. Pp. xxii+498. \$2.25.

This book presents the sociology of the normal child. This in itself is a modern trend in the field of educational sociology since it is a study of the social processes drawn from child life rather than from adult society and of the social forces and social interactions to which the normal child is subjected in our present society. Emphasis is placed upon the need for an understanding of these forces in order that there may not be only a continuation of normal development but an enrichment of these factors.

The author examines the social life of the normal child by means of the basic social process which is social interaction. He classifies social interaction in three ways. The first is by the number of persons involved, the simplest form being that of a one-to-one relationship, such as the infant to its mother; a more advanced form is that of the individual to the group and the group to the individual, as illustrated by the child's reactions to the family as a group, later to groups outside the immediate family; and the most advanced form is that of group and group which would include the interactions of two groups through direct association, such as a child of one national group living in a neighborhood in which there was another national group.

The second classification of interaction is based upon the degree of intimacy, which would include those associations of closest intimacy called "primary interaction," those of less intimacy labeled as "secondary interaction," and those associations of purely casual character called "tertiary interactions." The author points out that the child in his normal development moves through these levels of interaction, from the family and restricted play group through school, church, and social or community group to the wider contacts of religion, race, and state and that these levels are not sharply defined but are continuous or simultaneous and vary in degree in immediate influence.

The third classification of interaction of the normal child provides a more detailed analysis of social process since it is obvious that different social processes function in different situations. The author, therefore, attempts to set up some descriptive terms which would give some classification of these variations and for this purpose he uses the terms "passive adaptation," "conflict," "co-operation," and "active adaptation." "By passive adaptation is meant that type of social interaction in which one of the individuals assumes a comparatively passive role in his relation to another and to the group," as, for instance, the learning of language, social customs the adoption of funda-

mental attitudes and prejudices. The concept of "conflict" is not defined, but conflicts are classified as to "those within the individual himself, but created through social contacts; conflicts between individuals, but not involving group interaction; those between the individual and the group; and lastly, conflicts of group with group." "Co-operation" is used in the same sense as in common parlance, and "active adaptation" is the conscious effort of the child to adjust to new social situations, "it is an attitude of critical evaluation, the result of an awareness of a complete situation, and develops gradually with advancing years." The author points out that passive adaptation and conflict represent the more negative aspects of social intercourse, while co-operation and active adaptation the positive.

The social life of the child in his various social situations is then examined on the basis of these four aspects of social processes. The situations include the child and his family group, his play group, his school, his leisure—and noncommercial—the state, and religion. An attempt is made to show that in each social setting the child meets various social situations by one or more of the described methods of passive adaptation, conflict, co-operation, or active adaptation. Obviously, the author's definitions of these terms lack conciseness, and when applied to various social phenomena in which the child is studied they do not always seem appropriate. These descriptive terms of social processes seem inadequate to the student of human behavior since they neither fully describe nor adequately classify social behavior, nor do they offer any interpretation of the dynamics of interpersonal relationships which makes one normal child react to a given situation in one way, another normal child in a different way. Just as the social worker needs to be aware of social forces and social processes, so the student of sociology of children needs to have some orientation to the motivations of children's behavior if he is to understand fully his observations of social activity.

The subsequent chapters of the book contain much valuable information. Under each heading the author has included information regarding trends of thought in that field, up-to-date material that is informative and valuable, and also some elaboration of possible preventive and remedial measures. The value of the book is further enhanced by the inclusion of comprehensive bibliographies at the end of each chapter, and by the material in the Appendix which provides lists of magazines for parents, for children, organizations conducting research in child development, and organizations serving children and young people.

This book represents one more attempt to understand the child and to integrate the various allied fields of child study and child welfare and as such may serve as a resource book to social workers, particularly those in the field of child care.

L. W.

Meet the Prisoner. By JOHN A. F. WATSON. With an Introduction by SIR ROLLO GRAHAM-CAMPBELL. London: Jonathan Cape, 1939. Pp. 303. 8s. 6d.

Written primarily for the "ordinary citizen" and prison-worker of England this book provides for the American reader a satisfactory picture of the English prison system and the associated social services. The author, for ten years honorary secretary of the National Association of Prison Visitors and chairman of the Southwark Juvenile Court, brings to his writing a practical knowledge of English penology.

The contents of the entire book may be indicated by the titles of three of its twelve chapters—"The English Prison Yesterday," "The English Prison Today," and "The

English Prison Tomorrow." In the words of the author, the story of the English prison until nearly the close of the nineteenth century "does not make pretty reading." Here are described briefly the sordid conditions together with the minor reforms prior to the "momentous" Prison Act of 1877, which transferred the prison system from local to central jurisdiction, the Act of 1898 which stressed the reformatory aspects, and the proposals of the Criminal Justice Bill of 1938. It is interesting to note that Sarah Martin, the obscure dressmaker who served devotedly for many years the prisoners of the jail in her home of Yarmouth, has been here given her place along with the widely known reformers John Howard and Elizabeth Fry.

After the brief historical survey the author frankly discusses the present-day prisons and their administration, including such factors as classification, daily routine, dietary, labor, discipline, educational provisions, and aid to discharged prisoner—the latter carried on chiefly through its vast organization of voluntary workers.

The appendixes contain material of value primarily to the layman or voluntary worker, including a list of civil disabilities of the prisoner, a statement of the public sources of relief, the social insurances and public assistance, as well as rules and orders for discharged prisoners aid societies.

MARGARET CREECH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Social Control in Its Sociological Aspects. By L. L. BERNARD. New York: Macmillan Co., 1939. Pp. 711. \$4.00.

In *Social Control*, as in all his teachings, Dr. Bernard has once again attempted to show the dynamic aspects of the society in which we live. In his perspective the whole of society is seen as a single entity, and he traces the various ways that have been used through the centuries by individuals and by groups to control their fellow-men. The controls are divided into two general groups: (1) there are the exploitative social controls beginning with the use of force, passing through various stages including punishment and intimidation, and ending with the less obvious forms of graft, intrigue, and censorship; (2) there are the constructive social controls that have operated through revolution, ethics, custom, law, legislation, social reform, and education, to mention a few. The reader thus sees the slow evolution of social controls from the more obvious use of physical force to the subtler method of controlling man from within himself, either by means of censorship of news and skilfully planned propaganda as examples of "nonrational symbolic techniques" or by means of science and education as the "rational symbolic techniques."

The author does not see the study of society as a pure science. It is rather the reality of society as we live and participate in it that concerns him. Society is the stage upon which we act, and social controls are the stage directions of the groups in power to the groups not in power. The groups in power may be the rulers of a land, or they may be public relations counsels, newspaper editors, or advertising experts.

Because of its increasing importance and growth in contemporary society, Dr. Bernard has outlined social control as an independent special social science. He divides it into three parts: (1) the conditioning factors in the natural and cultural environment and in man, (2) the techniques of social control, and (3) social planning, which "aims at the reorganization of society on a rational control basis." The purpose of a study of social control should be to help people and groups to find a normal adjustment in society

and not merely to control the antisocial among us. Of propaganda, that method which has so recently been raised to a highly developed skill, Dr. Bernard says that it "cannot be made illegal, no matter how injurious it may be to the public welfare, until the masses of the people become aware of its harmfulness and develop moral indignation against it." Science and education are the social controls necessary to bring society to a sane and healthful plan of living.

It is well for social workers to become aware of the structure of the society in which they and their clients both play their parts. An analysis of the ways by which society operates will help them to gain a more detached perspective of it and thus to participate more intelligently in it. *Social Control* is written as a text vividly interspersed with cases and source material.

EDA HOUWINK

Economics and Society. By JOHN F. CRONIN. New York: American Book Co., 1939. Pp. 454. \$3.00.

This is a textbook on economics from the viewpoint of liberal and progressive Catholicism, as expounded by Pope Pius XI and such American educators as Professor J. A. Ryan. As the author puts it: "A realistic presentation [of the present economic system] serves as a background for an analysis of the social implications of the system, of the causes of maladjustment and of acceptable methods of reform." The idea that capitalism is self-adjusting and tends to cure its own evils is rejected, and major reforms, political and economic, are advocated and defended in a spirit of reasonableness and broad humanity.

Collectivism, "rugged individualism," and antidemocratic systems are severally criticized and condemned. Co-operation, collective bargaining, public control, and even public ownership in certain fields are approved. The whole book may be characterized as an earnest plea for "the middle way"—for evolutionary progress toward a system of social justice.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

VICTOR S. YARROS

Social Change and Social Problems. By JAMES H. S. BOSSARD. Rev. ed. New York: Harper & Bros., 1938. Pp. 808. \$3.50.

Social Change and Social Problems introduces the student to the changing conceptions in the study of social problems against the background of social change. The author considers the problems of social well-being and income, economic well-being especially as it is affected by unemployment and old age, physical and mental health, and family and child welfare. Much factual material has been incorporated. The concluding section presents the problems of contemporary social work and the need for social planning. The book has value at this time for it brings social interpretation abreast of the social changes prior to 1938.

CONNECTICUT COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

F. M. WARNER

REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

The Community Welfare Picture in Twenty-nine Urban Areas, 1938. (U.S. Children's Bureau.) Washington, D.C., 1939. Pp. 69.

In the first half of 1939 the United States Children's Bureau undertook a comprehensive analysis of expenditures and of income by sources for various types of social work in twenty-nine urban areas. The project was made possible through the organization developed for the Registration of Social Statistics, conducted since 1930 under the auspices of the Children's Bureau with the cooperation of community chests and councils and other planning agencies in forty-four urban areas. This report was intended primarily for agencies interested in community planning or in the distribution of funds. The project was undertaken in part as a result of the stimulus and encouragement given by the late Grace Abbott, who was a member of the Advisory Committee on the Registration of Social Statistics.

The report summarizes with a minimum of interpretative comment the major data received from the twenty-nine participating cities. Certain limited data on cases were supplied for two of the fields, viz., family welfare and the care of children, but for the most part the survey was one of finances showing the sources of funds and the amounts spent for various types of work. It is impossible in a brief space to present more than a few findings and deductions, particularly in the relief field, from this significant report.

The community welfare picture in twenty-nine urban areas indicates that social work is still chiefly concerned with supplying the primary necessities of life. In these areas 72 per cent of all health and welfare expenditures were for family welfare and dependency.

The huge federal work programs—W.P.A., N.Y.A., and C.C.C.—accounted for 45.3 per cent of the grand total of expenditures in twenty-nine areas and absorbed 66 per cent of the total funds in the family welfare and dependency field. Tables 1 and 2, derived from an appendix of the Bureau report, show an analysis of the health and welfare picture, both inclusive and exclusive of the federal work programs, and show how radically the welfare picture has been affected by these programs both in respect to the percentage distribution of funds for the different types of work and in respect to the amount and proportion of funds from the different sources.

There is good reason for looking at the welfare picture both with and without the federal work programs, which are new to the welfare picture within the past few years. In certain respects they are not relief. They have been produc-

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tive of substantial values in the form of public improvements. They are far more expensive than direct relief. Eligibility has not been as continuously checked and standards of eligibility have frequently differed as between the work programs and direct relief. There is also question as to how long they may continue.

TABLE 1
EXPENDITURES FOR DIFFERENT TYPES OF WORK, 1938

TYPE OF WORK	INCLUDING FEDERAL WORK PROGRAMS		EXCLUDING FEDERAL WORK PROGRAMS	
	Expenditures	Per Cent	Expenditures	Per Cent
Family welfare and relief	\$458,530,502	72.0	\$170,302,785	48.9
Hospitals	106,117,632	16.7	106,117,632	30.4
Health other than hospital	23,576,929	3.7	23,576,929	6.8
Child care	22,737,652	3.6	22,737,652	6.5
Leisure time	23,124,143	3.6	23,124,143	6.6
Chests and councils	2,861,885	0.4	2,861,885	0.8
Total	\$636,948,743	100.0	\$348,721,026	100.0

TABLE 2
AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF FUNDS FOR TWENTY-NINE
AREAS, 1938, BY SOURCE

Source	Total for All Services	Per Cent	Total for Services Exclusive of Federal Work Programs	Per Cent
Federal funds	\$316,197,059	49.6	\$ 27,969,342	8.0
State funds	80,728,673	12.7	80,728,673	23.2
Local public funds	133,586,342	21.0	133,586,342	38.3
Private contributions	35,320,563	5.5	35,320,563	10.1
Income from endowments	7,446,123	1.2	7,446,123	2.1
Payments by beneficiaries	58,143,004	9.1	58,143,004	16.7
All other	5,526,979	0.9	5,526,979	1.6
Total	\$636,948,743	100.0	\$348,721,026	100.0

If the need for extensive relief continues as is commonly expected, it appears certain that, if these federal work programs are discontinued, some other form of federal assistance must be substituted.

The relative cost of the work-relief programs is brought out by the fact that W.P.A., C.C.C., and N.Y.A. accounted for 48 per cent of the cases in the family welfare and dependency field, whereas these programs absorbed 66 per cent of

the total funds in the family welfare and dependency field. Public general relief, on the other hand, took care of 28 per cent of the cases, but required only 19 per cent of the funds. In the twenty-nine communities C.C.C. alone absorbed as much money as the total child-care field or as much as all leisure-time agencies and almost as much as health work other than hospitals.

The expenditure per capita of the population for all forms of health and welfare work in the twenty-nine cities was \$44.01. These per capitās ranged from \$21.94 in Houston to \$68.10 in Cleveland. Health and welfare expenditures varied considerably in the different parts of the country, with an average per capita of \$50.77 in the Middle West, \$48.16 on the Pacific Coast, \$40.31 in the Northeast, and \$29.51 in the South.

The total expenditures of private family welfare agencies were only 48 cents per capita of the population as against \$5.59 for public general relief. When the federal work relief programs and the social security assistance programs were added, the total expenditure for public relief in these twenty-nine areas was \$31.68 per capita of the population. (The figures include administrative and other nonrelief costs as well as relief itself, but in case of private family or relief agencies, the Goodwill Industries, workshops for the blind, etc., are excluded.)

Private family relief agencies spent only 2 per cent of all relief expenditures. If the relief expenditures of the private agencies for workshops for the blind, salvage industries, and shelters and subsidized labor for the handicapped were eliminated, the percentage was reduced to 1.5 per cent of the total. The significance of the private agencies is greater than the percentage of total expenditure would indicate. Their work is more largely in the service field, and their greater flexibility offers possibilities of leadership and of support of higher standards of administration in the public agencies. Only 52 per cent of the receipts of the private agencies were expended for relief to clients. This proportion, however, varied widely from 8 per cent in Birmingham to 71 per cent in New Orleans.

The erratic manner in which different units of government—federal, state, and local—participated in the financing of different fields of social work indicated the haphazard manner in which such support has developed. For example, some forms of work relief such as W.P.A., N.Y.A., and C.C.C. were supported largely by federal funds, whereas the highly important field of general relief received in the twenty-nine communities only one-tenth of 1 per cent of its support from the federal government.

Federal funds were practically negligible in the fields of child care (care of children outside of their own homes), hospitals, and other health services. These were left largely to state and local public support and to private philanthropy, although they are forms of social work which have a significance and causation reaching far beyond the local community. In the public health field other than hospitals, local governments (exclusive of state governments) contributed 63.5 per cent; in the child-care field, 46.8 per cent; and in the leisure-time field 33.5 per cent of the total expended.

The care of transient and nonresident individuals and families is commonly considered as primarily a federal responsibility, yet since the closing of the Federal Transient Program, carried on by the F.E.R.A., the federal government has contributed practically nothing to this field.

In the social security assistance field, for the aged, the blind, and for dependent children, federal, state, and local governments jointly participated. This is the only part of the relief field in which support as to source of funds presents a logical or orderly aspect. The entire welfare field is chaotic also from the standpoint of the source of funds and the auspices under which the administering agencies operate. An analysis from this standpoint was made for Cuyahoga County on the basis of the data presented in *The Community Welfare Picture*.

It showed that the public health and welfare agencies administered by the city of Cleveland received only approximately 45 per cent of their funds from the city, an equal amount being received from the state, most of the latter being for relief. Although Cuyahoga County provided a total of \$6,221,394 for health and welfare work, only \$3,886,127 of this amount was spent by county agencies. The state of Ohio, like Cuyahoga County, provided almost twice as much money for health and social work in Cuyahoga County as state agencies administered.

The Children's Bureau report rated the twenty-nine cities included in relation to level of living in each based upon (1) the number of federal individual income-tax returns per 1,000 population; (2) the volume of retail sales per capita; (3) the number of passenger automobiles registered per 1,000 population; and (4) the number of residential telephones per 1,000 population. The twenty-nine cities were classified in four groups from those of the highest level of living to those of the lowest. The data of the report for the most part were not related to this classification of cities, but the author undertook an analysis from this standpoint, assuming that the need for relief and other forms of health and welfare work was greatest in those cities having the lowest general level of living and least in those having the highest level.

The findings showed that health and welfare funds from a national point of view were poorly distributed, being least per capita of population where the need was greatest. Federal work-relief funds on the whole were better distributed among the cities in relation to need than the funds from other sources for other types of work, but there were wide variations in cases of individual cities. State and local funds and private funds were apparently correlated with the level of living rather than with need, being the highest in those cities where the level of living was highest.

Another factor besides the level of living was important in relation to the support of welfare work, viz., location. Southern cities as well as northern cities were scattered throughout all four level-of-living classifications, but all the southern cities had low per capita sums available for health and welfare

work. For example, Dallas had \$24.81; Houston, \$21.94; Richmond, \$24.67; Atlanta, \$36.34; Birmingham, \$24.46; and Louisville, \$25.58—as compared with the average of \$44.01 for all twenty-nine cities.

It seems probable that the large Negro population, and in Texas, both Mexicans and Negroes, and the conditions and attitudes prevailing in the South concerning these groups, had much to do with the low level of funds available for welfare work irrespective of the general level of living and economic competence of these communities. Outside of the South, however, the level of living with its indication of general economic ability of the community seemed to be the most important influence in determining the amount of money available for welfare work.

In this fact may be indicated the need for a national relief program, including not only grants-in-aid by the federal government, on a matching basis, but also provision by the federal government of equalization funds, making possible the supplementing of local funds to a greater degree in those local communities where need is great relative to resources.

Another important indication is that statistics of social agencies are not adequate as a measure of human need in a community. Other more valid measures of community need or social breakdown obviously are needed, since the number of clients accepted for care by social agencies, as well as the amount of funds, was shown by the report to be too much dependent on the resources made available by the community. Data concerning unemployment, underemployment, family income, housing, eviction orders, infant mortality, morbidity, school children suffering from inadequate food and clothing, and other measures of human need should be developed and made available if the public is to have more complete and accurate measures of need than are now found in the financial and service statistics of social agencies.

ELLERY F. REED

DIVISION OF RESEARCH
CINCINNATI COMMUNITY FUND

Statistical Measurement in Group Work. By FRANCES ADKINS HALL.
(U.S. Children's Bureau Pub. No. 248.) Washington, D.C., 1939. Pp.
vi+103. \$0.15.

This manual will be welcomed by all those in group-work agencies who are concerned with the problem of securing accurate and significant data in their field. The Chicago agencies have a particular interest in it since they played an active part in initiating the project. A committee of the Council of Social Agencies, composed of representatives of group-work agencies, worked with Mrs. Hall for several months outlining the material to be included and discussing definitions of various kinds of groups. Group-work reports are the most recent addition to the social statistics project of the United States Children's Bureau.

Although a uniform reporting system has been set up, there is still much to be done in improving the accuracy and comparability of the data collected and in showing the agencies how they may use it in analyzing their work.

If the data collected nationally or on a community-wide basis are to be valuable, the material collected in the agencies must be accurate. A real contribution toward the improvement of agency records is made in the chapter on the collection of data in local agencies. Record forms and descriptions of reporting procedures were collected from agencies in all parts of the country. From these the best features were selected to make the sample forms which are reproduced in the manual. These cover each step in the recording process from the registration of a member to the compilation of the summary report on the Children's Bureau's form. A full description is given of the use of each form, presented in sufficient detail so that any agency could use these forms in setting up a recording system. Obviously, no statistical data should be collected unless they are put to some use. Therefore, the chapter on the use of statistical data by local agencies is one of the most valuable contributions of this manual. The examples given of ways in which the data may be analyzed are useful for group leaders as well as for administrators. Formulas are given for securing participation indexes for both individuals and groups.

It is pointed out that the Children's Bureau's form, which is the only basic summary now in general use, is still in an experimental stage. In fact, none of the material in this manual is presented with the idea that it is the final word on the subject but in the hope that it will stimulate experimentation and discussion.

JULIA P. HARVEY

COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Welfare of Families of Sugar-Beet Laborers: A Study of Child Labor and Its Relation to Family Work, Income, and Living Conditions in 1935.
By ELIZABETH S. JOHNSON. (U.S. Children's Bureau Pub. No. 247.)
Washington, D.C., 1939. Pp. 100. \$0.15.

In 1934 the federal government attempted through the Jones-Costigan Act to regulate child labor in the sugar-beet industry. This Act, an amendment to the Agricultural Adjustment Act, made payments of governmental benefits to the sugar-beet growers dependent upon the observance of certain labor practices with respect to wages and child labor. The belated publication of this field study made by the Children's Bureau in 1935 makes available the results of one year's operation under the terms of the government contracts in selected areas. (Ten beet-growing areas in Michigan, Minnesota, Colorado, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Montana.)

Although the production-adjustment contracts of the Act were invalidated

early in 1936, substantially the same contracts were provided for in the Sugar Act of 1937. Thus the findings are still pertinent and should prove useful in strengthening the administration of the current scheme as well as in the future consideration of labor contracts for other agricultural work.

The contracts set a minimum age of fourteen (except for members of the grower's own family) and establish an eight-hour day for all children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. As with any other sort of child-labor regulation, if these standards are to be enforced there must be a certificating system and inspection; however

the general plan followed with respect to the child-labor provisions in the first year of this program was to give full publicity to the child-labor requirements and to rely on voluntary cooperation of the growers for compliance with them without providing specific administrative measures for aiding growers in determining the age of children and for ascertaining whether particular growers did observe the child-labor provisions.

The results of voluntary co-operation and no requirement of documentary proof of age were just what might be expected—very partial compliance. Although inspection and certification present special difficulties in agriculture, if young children are to be removed from the beet fields it will probably have to be accomplished the same way that it was in the factories and mines.

Living conditions, income, schooling, and the relief needs of the beet families have all been carefully reported upon. The findings here reflect in a little less spectacular form the same serious problems that have recently received such widespread attention on the Pacific Coast and make clear that the enactment and enforcement of labor legislation is just a beginning toward a satisfactory solution.

This is the second study made by the Children's Bureau of the condition of children in the families of sugar-beet workers. The earlier study, *Child Labor and the Work of Mothers in the Beet Fields of Colorado and Michigan* (Bureau Pub. 115), was made in 1920, when there was practically no regulation of labor in the industry.

J. B.

Merit System Advancing: Fifty-fifth Annual Report, City of New York Civil Service Commission, 1938-1939. Pp. 108.

In his letter transmitting this *Report* to the Mayor the president of the Commission reports that the city of New York now has the smallest percentage, 0.4 of 1 per cent, of political positions of any government in the United States, and he looks forward to the development of technical, objective testing devices for selecting 120,000 employees for whom a rational promotional system must be provided. Spoilsmen, it is claimed, have been eliminated from the city of New York.

The Commission believes in the idea of a so-called career service and to that end favors filling higher positions by promotion from lower ranks, but this is

done by creating department-wide units so that the competition will be wide and opportunity equal. High educational standards were set—two-thirds of the top 312 women in a police women's test were college graduates—and upheld by the courts.

One aspect of the year's work extremely interesting to social workers was the transfer of the Welfare Department of 10,103 employees from the noncompetitive to the competitive status. In some of the groups as high as 90 per cent of the incumbents failed to pass the examination. Thirty-four per cent of the professional social workers failed since a court order prevented their being given any extra credit for their specialized experience. There was strange and inconsistent interference by the court but helpful co-operation on the part of the State Department of Social Welfare.

The Commission not only supplies the statistical data with reference to positions filled but describes the procedure developed in service-rating. There is an official bulletin supplying pertinent information, and the classification process is being vigorously pushed as an implement in the development of a "career service." This is especially to be noted in the treatment of the Administrative Service. The Commission still lays stress on the oral test and sought objectivity and effective technique for the measurement of such qualities as judgment and administrative ability. The oral test for examiner of the Board of Education is described at some length (p. 62), and the tests for various housing positions and for supervisory social-work positions are reported to have given satisfactory results in eligible lists. The Commission has devoted much effort to the development of tests for measuring experience. The Board is developing and expanding a training program, which includes co-ordination of the activities of the Commission in its post-entry and in-service training with the educational facilities of the city.

Great emphasis is laid on the necessity of developing a "career service" and on promoting the efficiency of modern government. Only by implication is the threat expressed of limiting opportunities in the upper levels to those who enter on the lower—a threat which inheres in much public personnel discussion of those greatly influenced by the English experience. There are other stairways in the United States from the lower to the higher levels of proficiency besides the employment in that particular service, and the truly democratic and professional procedures will leave all doorways open at every level to those who can meet the needs of the service at that level. The effect of the English experience on American thinking has sometimes been to blind the American student to the vast difference between the widespread educational resources in the United States and the limited opportunities in England; but the exclusion from the upper levels of those who come to proficiency by other pathways will probably prove too difficult and would also probably lead to the bureaucracy which must be avoided if the government is to render the variety of services to which it is now putting its hand.

The Commission has given the mayor some reasons for satisfaction and has given the student of public personnel an admirable and interesting account of an exciting development.

S. P. B.

Report 1938-1939, Department of Welfare, City of New York, June 30, 1939.
New York City, 1940. Pp. 193.

This is a report not only of one and one-half year's work (the period being due to a change in the fiscal year) but also of the integration of the Emergency Relief Bureau of New York City with the Department of Welfare. This sounds simple, but one suspects from a study of chapter iii on "Reorganization," chapter v on "Civil Service," and chapter vi on "Relation of Department to Employee Groups,"¹ that a complicated and delicate job was done under trying circumstances but with no interruption in work for those in need and with relatively little threat to the staff. Furthermore, it was accomplished under the added burden of continuous investigation of the department by various bodies. The director somewhat wistfully hopes that "the department may have a breathing spell for a year or two at least, during which it can put into effect some of the good advice it has received from constructive sources."

To this reviewer's mind the most significant sentence in the whole *Report* is the first one which reads: "On January 1, 1938, the task of caring for the needy unemployed as well as the needy unemployable was established in New York as a *regular function of government* thereafter to be administered by a *permanent city department*." (Italics are reviewer's.) The recognition that a permanent need exists and the creation of means to meet it through the responsibility of governmental units is heartening, and it is hoped that this report of progress will influence some other communities to take rapid steps in the same direction. Another heartening thing is the report regarding nonsettled families. The first six months of 1939 show an average of 6,163 families monthly having no residence in New York City but nevertheless receiving relief. What a contrast to some other places where families are denied food, shelter, and medical care because they are nonresidents!

The *Report* reveals the many ways in which the best practices of the Emergency Relief Bureau and the Department of Welfare have been conserved—civil service, the advisory committee, the hearings board, the recognition of workers' associations, the development of the division on community relations, the simplification and modernization of procedures, the further development of welfare centers with integrated case loads, over-all supervision, and the expansion of special services.

¹ For fuller discussion than is contained in the *Report*, see "Industrial Relations Work in Civil Service," by Ellis Ranen, Industrial Relations Counselor, Department of Welfare, New York City, in *Social Work Today*, April, 1940, pp. 12, 15.

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Chapter iv is a clear statement of (1) administrative costs, (2) operating costs, and (3) service costs with illustrations from other fields, which should be helpful to other administrators struggling with the same problem. Attention is called to the fallacious method of relating costs to relief when rejection of cases is just as important and of no small saving to the taxpayer.

More space is given to medical, nursing, and dental care—chapter xii—than to any other matter and more details of procedure are found here. Perhaps this is a reflection of the director's statement elsewhere in the *Report*.

Illness is one of the chief causes of destitution. No other hazard of life save unemployment results in so much suffering and insecurity. It is of the utmost importance that our program of medical and nursing service for those on relief be extended through some system cooperative or otherwise to the low-income workers. . . . This will be a further means of reducing relief rolls. . . .

Case stories are conspicuously absent except for one, that of the recipient of old age assistance who tells in his own way about the loneliness and idleness of old age. But the nine full-page pictures each with its simple title tell the story of care for the aged, the children, the blind, the veterans, of housing, of medical and dental care, of nutrition service, and of summer outings.

Eighteen tables record the financial operations and thirty-one tables show case loads. It is impossible to summarize these. They must be studied to grasp the stupendous volume of work involved in caring for over one million persons per month.

P. S.

First Annual Report, Department of Housing and Buildings, City of New York, 1938. New York, 1938. Pp. 79.

In 1937 New York City adopted a new building code and at the same time established a Department of Housing and Buildings, in which were consolidated the functions and duties of the former Tenement House Department and the building departments of the five boroughs. In addition, other functions, some of which had been previously performed by the Department of Health and by the city clerk, were assigned to the new department.

Commissioner Alfred Rheinstein, reporting on his first year's stewardship, states that despite difficulties encountered in organizing so large a department, the consolidation has resulted in a more uniform quality of work, has made possible an increase in the volume of output, and has improved the morale of the organization. But, notes Mr. Rheinstein, even greater strides could have been made had not a 20 per cent cut in administrative staff been made at the time of the merger. Because of an inadequate staff the Division of Housing, which is responsible for the enforcement of the multiple-dwelling law, had to direct its work mainly "toward correcting the most dangerous and harmful violations." During the year this division spent, under provisions of the repair lien law, almost \$400,000 in the removal of multiple-dwelling violations, thus making more

habitable and safe 2,635 dwelling units for about 8,000 persons. It was also responsible for the demolition of 1,130 old-law tenements, those erected prior to April 10, 1901. At the end of the year, however, there were still 61,872 such tenements to be found in the city. New residences are being built, it is true, but not to any great extent in those parts of the city—Manhattan and Brooklyn—where most of the old-law tenements are to be found. Residential buildings are going up most rapidly in the borough of Queens. In 1938 its volume of residential construction, based on the number of plans filed, constituted over 15 per cent of all such work in the United States and by far the greatest part in New York City. New buildings, however, are not sufficient to meet the needs of the poorly housed. Repairs and improvements of existing tenements to meet the requirements of the law should be made. This, as Mr. Rheinstein points out, can only be accomplished with adequate, qualified personnel.

MARY ZAHROBSKY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare and of the Division of Supervision of State Institutions, Indiana, June 30, 1939. Indianapolis, 1939. Pp. 88.

The report of last year's work in Indiana contains an organization chart showing the relationship of boards and divisions as no amount of textual description could do. The twenty pages of text portray briefly the work of the nine divisions—namely, public assistance, children's services, services to crippled children, corrections, inspections and investigations, medical care, supervision of institutions, information and public relations, and general administration. Both the chart and the text indicate that the Division of Supervision of State Institutions is on a different level of responsibility from other divisions. The description of the work of these divisions might serve as a guide to other communities in the development of a department of public welfare. There are comments on the significant thing in the work of each division, giving the reader the impression of steady growth in the department.

In public assistance stress is laid on the increase in work when the law lowering the eligible age for old age assistance from seventy to sixty-five years became effective. Investigations were made of 42,685 applications, of which approximately 70 per cent were granted assistance. This did not represent a net gain in cases, however, because about 50 per cent were receiving or had received other forms of assistance—most of them from township funds. In so far as township relief is in general less adequate and less permanent than old age assistance, the state can take pride in this higher standard of care granted to almost 30,000 of her aged citizens. This additional work did not prevent maintaining work on the A.D.C. program on a current basis. Other states will certainly want to know how that was managed and would have been grateful if information on this point had been included in the *Report*. "The greatest

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contributing factor to dependency of children was the continued absence from home of the father due to divorce, separation or desertion." In this statement lies a suggestion as to the point at which social case work might concentrate its efforts—namely, in the prevention of family breakdown. It contains a warning to other states that they include in those eligible for A.D.C. those children dependent because of the father's absence from home.

Those whose interests lie primarily in the field of child care will find encouragement in

certain changes in the foster care program resulting from the growing recognition . . . that the type of care a child should receive depends upon the needs of each individual situation and that a long-time plan for a child should be in a home situation. . . . There has been accordingly an increase in the use of boarding homes and in the use of the child's own home or the homes of relatives and a resultant decrease in the use of institutions and of free and adoptive homes.

Four children's institutions were closed during the year leaving fifty-nine as of June 30, 1939. The provision from federal funds of scholarships for twelve people for special training work with children is significant in terms of the future as is also the establishment of minimum standards for adoptions.

The Division of Services for Crippled Children in addition to its work of locating children has developed a project for the treatment of cerebral palsy, a project which is receiving national recognition. A change in the law on both age and residence effective July 1, 1939, broadened the work of this division so as to provide care for a greater number of Indiana's children.

The Division of Corrections through the use of county welfare departments is enabled to extend its parole services, and at the same time better preparation for parole can now be made than was previously possible. The importance of the work of the Division of Inspection and Investigation is revealed in the statement "in the twenty state institutions, ninety county jails, ninety-one county infirmaries, twenty-five county hospitals and some five hundred city lockups approximately one hundred thousand persons are housed at one time or another during each calendar year."

The title "Division of Medical Care" is misleading; one turns to that portion of the report hoping to find therein a description of how the medical care of those in need has been provided but is disappointed to find the work of the division limited to a mental health program with three objectives: (1) improvement of institutional facilities, (2) development of a social service department, and (3) holding of mental health clinics.

That section of the *Report* devoted to the Division of Supervision of State Institutions is historical to some extent, but the *Report* refers to modernization and additions to the physical plants in seventeen out of the twenty institutions made during the year. The development of industries in the institutions and the co-ordination of farms suggest progressive development aimed at the well-being of the institutional population.

The Division of Information and Public Relations serves the public through various mediums and gives some attention to the development of volunteer service—a resource which many public agencies have been prone to overlook.

The Division of General Administration operates through sections—accounts and audits, central file, county finance, legal, library, and statistics and research—and their functions are described briefly. The *Report* contains forty-nine pages of thirty tables including financial statements, recipients by counties and in connection with institutions, such significant data among others as movement of population and comparisons of population to personnel. The *Report* is concise and leaves the reader with a desire to know more about public welfare in Indiana.

P. S.

Reemployment: Report of the Governor's Commission on Reemployment, September 30, 1939. JOHN R. RICHARDS, Chairman. Sacramento, Calif., 1939. Pp. 95.

This interesting *Report* recommends to the state of California a comprehensive program for a co-operative development including both producers' and consumers' participation, which it is thought might enable large numbers of those now on inadequate and precarious relief to obtain more adequate support, together with the experiences in work, participation in ownership, and general normal human experience so essential to sound development for the young, to the maintenance of morale for the older, for the enjoyment of true democratic activity. The special recommendations to which definite reference will be made are preceded by a comprehensive statement of the cost and waste and perils associated with continued unemployment and reliance on relief. The present estimate is that nearly one and three-quarter million people are, or were in September, 1939, affected. These were 560,000 heads of families, 140,000 dependents who are or should be gainful workers, and 1,000,000 dependents not available for work. This is nearly one-fourth of the state's population. The dangers inherent in this situation are obvious and are clearly pointed out in this *Report*. The recommendations of the Commission are five in number: (1) A state planning board of five persons—two salaried, three consultative and unpaid—to be adequately staffed, whose business would be that of integrating and co-ordinating all state and county activities, assembling data, co-operating with the federal governments in utilizing opportunities for employment, proposing and securing reorganization in government relationship, scrutinizing the tax system, and especially recommending and securing better use of natural resources.

The second recommendation has to do with the development of a co-operative enterprise which would use the unutilized energies of the unemployed. As has been said, this contemplates both producers' and consumers' co-operation. The

third recommendation has to do with the use of surplus food, in which the co-operative enterprise under the state authorities in the judgment of the Commission would probably be more successful than the federal administration has been. The fourth recommendation has to do with rural housing and is based upon the extremely interesting discussion of the federal and federal-state program. Here again the Commission hopes to develop co-operative undertakings. This recommendation has special interest because of the hope that it might make provision for the migratory groups about whom there has been such widespread interest since the publication of *Grapes of Wrath* and *Factories in the Field*. The fifth recommendation has to do with administrative practices. All the details of this are interesting, but perhaps the most interesting is the possibility of a central assistance index for the development of joint studies and for special concern in the development of apprenticeship opportunities.

There is a strong demand for the application of sound civil service methods throughout the State Relief Administration. Especially the Commission urges that no surrender be made to the doctrine of "blanketing in."

S. P. B.

Seasonal Workers and Unemployment Insurance in Great Britain, Germany, and Austria. By FRANZ HUBER. (Bureau of Research and Statistics of the Social Security Board, Report 4.) Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1940. Pp. viii+167. \$0.20.

This is a review of the experience of Great Britain, Germany, and Austria with the payment of unemployment insurance benefits to "seasonal" workers. The chief administrative problem in all these countries seems to have arisen from the difficulty of defining a seasonal worker or a seasonal industry. Britain left it to the local courts of referees to define for a long time but in 1935 began issuing some regulations which were to apply to the entire country. Germany virtually abandoned special treatment of seasonal workers in 1934. Austria tried various rather cumbersome devices prior to the Anschluss.

The principal lesson which we in this country have to learn from these countries regarding the treatment of seasonal workers is to avoid about everything they did. Mr. Huber does not seem to have been too much aware of the essential differences between American and European forms of unemployment insurance. The British have trouble with seasonal occupations because of the nature of their benefit structure. A British worker is entitled to receive benefits for 26 weeks, if he has been employed some part of 30 weeks in insurable employment in the two years preceding his application for benefits. That is, for each week under minimum conditions during which he has done some work and made a contribution, he can obtain 0.87 of a week of benefits. If at the end of his twenty-sixth week of benefits he obtains employment in a covered occupation and works 10 weeks, at the end of which he is laid off, he can get

benefits for another 26 weeks, or 2.6 weeks of benefits for each week of insured employment. If there are many seasonal workers in the country, obviously the drain on the insurance funds would be serious.

The typical benefit structure in the United States raises no such questions. The benefit amount is a percentage of weekly wages but may not fall below a statutory minimum or rise above a statutory maximum. The duration of benefits is generally determined by computing the ratio of total benefit credits to benefit amounts. Consequently, any worker who has been employed in insurable employment for the minimum number of weeks to qualify is entitled to receive benefits when unemployed, but the number of benefit weeks is equal to the quotient obtained by dividing total credits by the benefit amount. Under American laws the seasonal worker is simply a worker who gets benefits for a shorter period than the more regular worker, but he obtains benefits for a period which is definitely related to contributions by and/or for him. We have circumvented the seasonal benefit problem of the European systems by relating duration to the number of weeks of work performed. Seasonal workers under our scheme will have to apply for general relief when their short periods of benefits expire, but we can eschew the metaphysics of the European argument concerning the seasonal worker.

R. CLYDE WHITE

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The Investment of the Funds of Social Insurance Institutions. ("Studies and Reports, Ser. M, Social Insurance," No. 16.) Geneva: International Labour Office, 1939. Pp. viii+196. \$1.25.

The problem of the investment of social insurance funds is relatively new in the United States. A few of our states which administer their own insurance funds for workmen's compensation have had some money to invest, but the sums have been small. Operations under the Social Security Act, however, have suddenly made the investment of reserves a major financial problem for the federal government. At the end of November, 1939, American social insurance reserves held by the United States Treasury amounted to almost three billion dollars—a larger amount than is held by any other country for similar purposes.

This report issued by the International Labour Office is, therefore, of particular interest to us at this time. The report is based upon a conference of experts held in December, 1938, at which replies to a questionnaire from corresponding countries were discussed and some tentative conclusions drawn. The criteria agreed upon for selection of investment opportunities for social insurance funds were safety, yield, liquidity, and social utility. Within the limits of safety the primary consideration is the return on the investment, but some types of social insurance require a high degree of liquidity in their investments because of the irregularity of demands. Hence, some attention must be given to quick realization of cash on investments. If these three criteria can be satis-

fied and at the same time reserve funds be directed into channels which have exceptional social utility, such as housing or health facilities, it is desirable to give due weight to the fourth criterion.

R. C. W.

The Administration of Old Age Assistance in New Jersey: Annual Report for Year Ending June 30, 1939, Division of Old Age Assistance, New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies. Pp. 30.

Report of the Delaware Old Age Welfare Commission for the Year 1939. Pp. 6.

This New Jersey *Report* is strangely unlike another New Jersey report dealing with the subject of relief.¹ In that report economy is emphasized so conspicuously that while reference is occasionally made to "adequate relief" and qualified personnel, mention is hardly made of the relief clients who are victims of the disorganization of the time except to suggest that if they have been on relief three years they be declared paupers and be denied the right to vote. In this old age *Report* attention is focused on the beneficiaries of the assistance program, and great satisfaction is expressed at the increase in numbers from 26,442 to 29,417 and the increased grants by an average of one dollar a month over the year before and of almost three dollars (\$2.85) over 1937. The *Report* constantly reminds the reader that need is the basis of the grant, but satisfaction is also expressed that need can be met more adequately. Another striking feature of the *Report* is the evidence of successful county organization. In every one of the twenty-one counties there is a county welfare board appointed by the boards of chosen freeholders, the welfare boards being composed of five citizen members (including two women) chosen for their interest in welfare and civic affairs. And there are besides two members of the freeholders serving as ex officio members. There are, therefore, elected officials and lay citizens handling the welfare activities. The welfare board appoints a director of welfare who acts as executive officer of the board and engages other personnel subject to the regulation of the Civil Service Commission or the Division of Old Age Assistance of the State Board. There is an interesting discussion of interstate relationships furnishing evidence that matters of old age assistance are suitable for wider jurisdictional activity while the county development shows that these problems of assistance can be safely intrusted to local authorities when there is able state leadership and federal participation.

The six-page Delaware *Report* is very different from the New Jersey *Report*. It shows appreciation of the federal participation and recommends an increased appropriation on the part of the state. Delaware, too, adheres to the principle of family liability and, of course, grants on the basis of need. "Every

¹ For comment on the relief report, see the *New York Times*, February 24 and 25, 1940.

grant is passed on by three persons before the application reaches the Commission for final approval." The numbers are not large, but Delaware is a small state. At the beginning of the year there were 2,563 on the list, 458 new ones were added, 715 were rejected during the year. The figures are given, too, by counties, by months, by sex, and by color. In all, the sum of \$182,948.03 was spent.

S. P. B.

Final Report of the Inter-departmental Committee on the Rehabilitation of Persons Injured by Accidents. (Great Britain Home Office, Ministry of Health, and Scottish Office.) London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1939. Pp. vi+194. Illustrated. 3s. 6d.

This *Report* comes from a committee largely concerned with the problem of physical rehabilitation of injured persons, and almost the entire report is devoted to the question of improved treatment of fractures. Very little space is given to the problems of vocational guidance, artificial appliances, retraining, and re-employment—problems with which our American vocational rehabilitation departments attempt to deal. The warrants of appointment took particular note of the question of fracture services, requiring the committee

to inquire into the arrangements at present in operation with a view to the restoration of the working capacity of persons injured by accidents, and to report as to what improvements or developments are desirable, and what steps are expedient to give effect thereto, regard being had to the recommendations made in the report issued by the British Medical Association in February, 1935, on "Fractures."

The committee, composed of representatives of the medical profession, labor, employers, insurance carriers, and local government associations, as well as of the Ministries of Health, Pensions, and Labour and the Board of Education, spent three years in surveying the needs of, and existing services for, the victims of accidents of all kinds.

On the basis of statistics collected for the committee's study, it was estimated that British hospitals in 1935 treated 1,303,478 persons who had been injured in accidents and that 204,738 were fracture cases. A special analysis was made of 6,364 fracture cases treated in fourteen fracture departments. The most significant findings were that in almost one-third of these cases the day of the patient's first attendance was later than the day of the injury (with the delay exceeding a week in 213 cases) and that the patient was discharged before function was completely restored in 23.7 per cent of the uncomplicated cases of simple fracture.

It was the conclusion of the committee that medical care for fractures is at present far from satisfactory. A very detailed case is made for the organization of specialized fracture services on a regional basis where latest methods would be utilized, specialized staff would be employed, and unified treatment would be given from the reduction of the fracture through the last remedial exercise.

Although urging "radical" changes in fracture care and although "not dissenting from the view that the ultimate aim should be the institution of a general traumatic service," the committee recommended that immediate efforts be concentrated on achieving efficient care for fractures.

Its *Report* advocates that the establishment of regional fracture services be effected through consultation between local hospital authorities and representatives of the voluntary general hospitals of the area, but offers no specific financial plan, the various private and local public funds necessary being expected to be forthcoming. The Ministry of Health is to urge such development, but the committee did not consider it necessary to draw upon the National Exchequer. One member of the committee, a representative of the County Councils Association, who might perhaps later sit at such actual consultations, did not believe that the financial provisions went far enough and suggested extension of the National Health Insurance Act to cover the costs of hospital care.

In striking contrast to the detailed consideration of the problem of organizing satisfactory fracture services, are the very general conclusions of the committee with regard to retraining for those accident victims who cannot be restored to their former working capacity by medical or surgical treatment. "The fact that we have heard so little of any major problem existing at the present time indicates perhaps that the problem is not a big one" (p. 136). Social workers will question this reasoning applied to such an inarticulate group. The *Report* recommends that the problem of retraining be undertaken by the Ministry of Labour because of the experience of that ministry in retraining disabled veterans of the World War, because the selection of trades should be related to openings in the labor market, and because trade-training for adults is so different from education of adolescents as to be outside the province of the Board of Education. The *Report* suggests that the Ministry of Labour establish one or two special experimental trade-training centers, with the costs to be met by payments from the disabled person, charitable organizations, or local public-assistance authorities. The committee takes a gloomy view of the possibility of retraining those above the age of twenty-six, or possibly thirty-five for skilled workers, unless the new trade is closely related to the old.

The committee secured material on vocational rehabilitation in the United States, but seems to have profited little from our experience of the last twenty years. It is impossible for this reviewer to concur in the recommendation of segregated trade-training for the physically handicapped as preparation for competition with the able-bodied in employment. It is unfortunate that a "means test" is to be the gateway to the proposed training centers. However, social workers will approve a recommendation that an "Almoner's Department" with a trained staff be regarded as essential to the organization of a fracture service.

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On the State of the Public Health: Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health for the Year, 1938. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1939. Pp. vi+230. 3s.6d.

Eleven chapters of this *Report* deal with familiar topics in the health field, such as vital statistics, maternity and child welfare, insurance, medical service, etc. The appendixes contain some interesting statistical material, such as, for example, the deaths from tuberculosis from 1851 through 1938.

The chapter on the new cancer service is of special interest. Although the Cancer Act was not passed until 1939, the present *Report* gives the broad outlines of the plan. Under this act local authorities are required, after consultation with representative members of the local medical profession, to submit to the Minister of Health a scheme for the diagnosis and treatment of patients suspected to be suffering from cancer. The Minister's approval is to be given only after he has satisfied himself that the scheme makes use of the best hospital facilities available; that provision is made for modern specialized treatment (surgery, radium, X-rays); that those appointed to diagnose and treat the cases are properly qualified; and that hospitals and diagnostic centers are accessible to the population served. The cost of the program is borne partly by an increase in the block grant to local authorities and partly out of local rates levied by the county councils and county borough councils. A uniform system of clinical records is to be maintained along lines laid down by the Ministry. Obviously, such records are of great potential value in working out the next steps in the control of cancer. Certain essential facilities, such as radium, are not at present available in some localities. Hence the plan contemplates extensive sharing of personnel and equipment and a marked increase in regionalization. Joint boards are to be set up for this purpose, composed of representatives of the participating local authorities, with additional members selected by the voluntary hospitals and the associations of practitioners in the areas concerned. Traveling expenses of patients are to be authorized by local authorities, if necessary, in cases involving trips beyond the immediate place of residence. The need for this development is revealed by a table showing the annual mortality rates from cancer from 1901 through 1938. While the figures do not prove that deaths from cancer are increasing, they do show that cancer is, and has long been, a major cause of death.

Naturally the war has necessitated many changes in plans to improve and broaden the health services. One entire chapter of the *Report* is given over to a description of the emergency hospital organization. The plan is based on the assumption that London is "likely to be exposed to heavy bombardments from the air" and that not less than 300,000 hospital beds must be available for civilian casualties. Working on the basis of this grim hypothesis, the authorities have developed a complete scheme for evacuation and treatment. For the most part the emergency is to be met through stretching existing facilities. Ambulant wards are to be immediately vacated, for example, by sending the patients

home. Beds are also to be utilized in mental hospitals. Some new huttred hospitals will be erected on grounds adjacent to existing institutions. Areas have been defined that radiate outward from London, sector-wise, into the rural counties. Motor transport, first-aid posts, and receiving hospitals have been linked within these sectors with the objective of moving serious cases rapidly out into the rural institutions for long-time care. The plan has also been related to the schemes set up for the care of the wounded members of the armed forces.

W. Mc M.

The Law and Women's Work: A Contribution to the Study of the Status of Women. ("Studies and Reports," Ser. I [Employment of Women and Children], No. 4.) Geneva: International Labour Office, 1939. Pp. xii + 590. \$3.00. Distributed in the United States by the I.L.O. (Washington Branch), 734 Jackson Place, Washington, D.C.

In 1935 the Assembly of the League of Nations had on its agenda the question of the status of women and began to study the subject from the standpoint of equality of the sexes. Realizing that the subject would have to be divided so that the civil and political status could be studied independently of the economic or occupational status, the inquiry into the latter field was laid on the doorstep of the International Labour Office, which accepted the responsibility and entered upon an investigation of which this volume is the result. This is, however, only the introduction to a series of studies on the subject of legislation dealing with various questions relating to the economic situation of workingwomen.

An attempt is made here to relate the legislation in the various countries to the problems with which workingwomen must deal. The material is presented in twelve chapters, of which the first two on "Methods of Regulation" and "Public Departments Dealing with the Employment of Women" are generally introductory, and the others are devoted to special aspects of women's work calling for the exercise of community control. These special aspects are maternity protection; hours of work; nightwork; unhealthy, heavy, and dangerous work; work involving moral dangers; the right to employment; wage regulation; insured women under social insurance schemes; women in the professions; and, finally, the bearing of women's civil and political status on the situation of workingwomen.

In each case the nature of the problem is carefully, clearly, and simply presented. The actualities of the situation make the quest for equality seem very remote. In each chapter the statement of the problem is followed by a summary of the legislation devoted toward a mitigation of the particular problem in all the countries from which information was obtained. This is followed by an analysis of the legislation in the countries to which reference is made, with careful citations to all sources and authorities from which the information was

secured. The volume illustrates the value of an authority which can present a comprehensive view of what has been happening in this area of activity all over the world.

The story might have been a little clearer if the chapter on "Legal Position of Women as Professional Workers" had been put at the beginning instead of at the end of the series so that the distinction between the need of professional women for emancipation and that of industrial women for protection might be kept in mind. The presentation of the claims made on women in domestic and social relationships, the effect of maternity whether actual or potential in increasing the difficulty if not entirely preventing successful organization are effectively set out. The development from the early efforts (1890) to secure international effort to deal with maternity leave and nightwork, the accomplishments of the Washington Conference of 1919 are traced and set out, and there is a careful description of the different administrative organizations that have been found useful. The volume contains an encyclopedic range of admirably organized data concerning conditions as they were at the time.

S. P. B.

In the Matter of Harry R. Bridges: Findings and Conclusions of the Trial Examiner. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939. Pp. viii+152.

An excellent review of the Bridges case by Professor Max Radin of the University of California School of Jurisprudence was published in the March, 1940, number of this *Review*. No attempt will be made, therefore, to review these findings and conclusions. It seems important, however, to note the publication of the final report in this case, which aroused such widespread interest.

Dean Landis, in his Letter of Transmittal to Secretary Perkins, said:

These findings are, perhaps, unusually long and detailed but I have thought it desirable to state in full the bases which underlie my conclusions. I have, therefore, set forth substantially every item of evidence contained in the long and voluminous record and attempted to give it that weight that it deserves. Any other method of approach seemed to me futile, for conclusions as to the credibility that should attach to the witnesses in this proceeding can be satisfactorily reached only after painstaking and minute analysis of their testimony. That process alone permits a fleeting doubt to be dismissed or to ripen into the conviction that what is paraded as truth bears the unmistakable marks of falsehood.

Dean Landis also took note of the fact that, since his conclusions were that the evidence did "not permit the finding that Harry R. Bridges is either a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with that party," he did not consider it necessary to find whether or not, upon the evidence presented by the record, the Communist party "advocates, advises or teaches the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence. . . ."

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State of Connecticut, Report of the Commissioner of Labor, Period Ended June 30, 1938. (Legislative Document No. 24.) Hartford, 1939. Pp. 114+xvii.

The record that the Connecticut Department of Labor and Factory Inspection has achieved in the last six years is one of which it may justly be proud. Under its leadership legislative enactments since 1933 have advanced Connecticut from "one of the most backward to one of the foremost states in progressive labor legislation." It is one of the twelve states that has set a minimum age of sixteen years for the employment of children in general employment, has put rigorous limitations on industrial home work, has adopted the so-called model minimum wage law, and has set up an in-service training program in its Employment Service which has been adopted as standard by the United States Employment Service. Its personnel and appropriations have been largely increased owing to the creation of a new division to administer the Unemployment Compensation Act which was passed by the legislature in 1936. But other departments have also expanded, and increased appropriations have aided materially in the proper administration of the labor laws.

A thumbnail sketch of the "History and Functions of the Labor Department" portrays its growth from 1873, when there were but five labor laws on Connecticut's statute-books, to the present day, when there are well over two hundred. The highlights of the Department's activities are summarized in the beginning of the *Report*, but a detailed analysis of the duties and accomplishments of the Department of Factory Inspection, Unemployment Compensation Division, State Employment Service, and Bureau of Labor Statistics are also included. The report of the Board of Mediation, which is appointed by the governor and therefore not under the administrative direction of the commissioner but which operates within the Department, also forms a part of the document.

Although Connecticut has accomplished much in the field of labor legislation, Commissioner Tone feels that further improvements can be made and offers to the legislature a list of nine recommendations for consideration, of which the most important are a wage-hour law which would bring the state law in conformity with the provisions of the federal Fair Labor Standards Act, vacations with pay, and restriction on the indiscriminate use of the injunction in labor disputes. In addition to these general recommendations, the deputy commissioner of the Department of Factory Inspection and the executive director of the Division of Unemployment Compensation also offer suggestions for needed changes in the laws which they administer.

M. Z.

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